CuK-H00382-69-GS1412

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

THIRD SERIES

Volume XI

(69)

310.5
003

APRIL—JUNE,
1924

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
CENTRAL LIBRARY.

Published by

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

CRCU 115

First Series	*1844*
New Series	*1913*
Third Series	*1921*

GS 1412

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

VOLUME XI ; NUMBERS 1—3.

Contents.

Page.

Kauṭiliya Arthaśastra—M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Professor, Prague University, Czecho-Slovakia 1

Middle Class Unemployment in Bengal—Prafullachandra Ghosh, M.A., B.Sc., Lecturer, Calcutta University 29

The University of Nalanda—J. N. Samaddar, B.A., Professor, Patna College, Patna 39

National Education—D. N. Sen, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, B. N. College, Bankipur 62

Two in One (*Poem*)—Nalinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University 74

Has India a Constitution ?—Khagendranath Sen, B.A... 75

Retrospection (*Poem*)—V. B. 88

The Late Professor Gouri Sankar De—Surendrakrishna Mookerjee 89

A Sketch of the Origin and Development of Egyptian Music—Lily Strickland-Anderson 95

Vengeance is Mine—Kanaiyalal M. Munshi, M.A., LL.B. 109

The Flower of Rajasthan—Francis A. Judd, M.A. ... 117

Historical Research in Behar and Orissa—Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I. 130

The Deceiving Mind; Unmind the Mind (*Poems*)—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Solicitor ... 151

The Call of Youth (*Poem*)—Gwendoline Goodwin, England 152

Biology (*Poem*)—Wayne Gard, A.B. 152

Nalanda (*Pictorial*) 153

Evolution of State Concept in Ancient India, II—Narayanchandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University 158

Page.

REVIEWS :

The Eternal Pilgrim and the Voice Divine—W. S. U. ... 168
Usarika—J. G. B. 169
Songs to Myrtika—J. G. B. 170
India and other Sonnets—J. G. B. 170
Easy Grammar Reader, Book 1—A. Duc 171

OURSELVES :

Study of Experimental Psychology, Calcutta and Dacca— 172

Death and Love (*A Dialogue*)—The Late Professor M. Ghosh 175
Desideria (*Poem*)—The Late Professor M. Ghosh ... 177
History and Literature—N. K. Siddhanta, M. A., Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow 179
The Lotus-Cup (*Poem*)—Lily Strickland-Anderson ... 191
A Rationalistic View of Poesy—K. C. Sen, Deputy Magistrate (*Rtd.*) Madaripur 192
Manmohan Ghosh, the Poet—Latika Ghosh, B.A. ... 205
The Antiquities of Some Villages of Eastern Bengal—Benoychandra Sen, M.A., Professer, City College, Calcutta 210
Bir Singh Deo—Lala Sita Ram, B.A., M.R.A.S., Allahabad 220
Indian Railways—S. C. Ghosh, Formerly Member, Railway Board, Government of India 348
Winged-Fancy (*Poem*)—Lily Strickland-Anderson ... 27
Femininity in Letters—J. C. Ghosh, M.A., B.Litt., Lecturer, Calcutta University 279
The Boghazköi Inscriptions and Their Value for Vedic Chronology (*A Rejoinder*)—Kshetresachandra Chattopadhaya, M.A., Professor, Rangpur College, Rangpur 287
The Price of Love (*Poem*)—Rai Bahadur C. C. Mukherjee, M.A., Additional District Magistrate, Monghyr 293
Immanuel Kant: His Problem and His Solution—Henry Stephen, M.A., D.D., PhD. 295
Evolution of State Concept in Ancient India, III—Narayanchandra Bandyopadhyaya, Lecturer, Calcutta University 331
On Hiroshige's Fireworks at Ryogoku (*Poem*)—Yone Noguchi, Japan... 340

Page.

Scottish Chaucerian Poets: Gavin Douglas—Michael Macmillan, D.Litt., London 341
The Child of Night—Nalinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University 348
Steel Development in India—J. C. Dasgupta, M.A., Professor, K. N. College, Berhampore ... 349
Queen Supayalat (*Poem*)—Wayne Gard, Rangoon ... 357
Rajgir (*Pictorial*) 359
Note on the Rajgir Pictures—D. N. Sen, M.A., I E.S., Bankipore 363
Dyarchy: A Study in "Specific Devolution"—Khagendranath Sen, B.A., Pabitrakumar Basu, B.A., and Haricharan Ghosh, B.A. 364
Importance of the Study of the Ancient History of India—D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael Professor, Calcutta University 376
Some Original Sources for a Biography of Begam Sombre—Brajendranath Banerjee, Calcutta ... 391

REVIEWS:

Wit, Humour and Fancy of Persia: by M. N. Kuka, M.A., Bombay, 1923—J. C. C. 399
The Indian Fiscal Problem—Economics 401

OURSELVES:

The Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Basu 403
Professor C. V. Raman 403
Dr. Bimalacharan Law 404
Universities Conference 404
The Late Dr. Annandale 406
Study of Maratha History 410
Dr. Ghoshal on Hindu Political Theories 412
Dr. Radhabinod Pal 414

The Willow Tree—Yone Noguchi, Japan 415
Benares (*An Interpretation*)—Lily Strickland-Anderson 419
The Flower of Rajasthan—Francis A. Judd, M.A. ... 428
Bir Singh Deo, II—Sita Ram, B.A., M.R.A.S., Allahabad 445
The Ideals of Japanese Education—F. D. Murad, Chairman, Department of Physics, Aligarh ... 461
The Stinnes Complex in German Industry—Benoy Kumar Sircar, M.A., Switzerland 471

Page.
The Unseen Mother (*Poem*)—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta 478
Scottish Chaucerian Poets—Michael Macmillan, D.Litt., London 479
Indian Miniatures—Lily Strickland-Anderson ... 485
The Tariff Board—" Clive Street " 487
Poems—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Solicitor 493
The Electrification of the Tata Iron Works at Jamshedpur—Surendranath Ghosh, Chief Electrical Engineer, Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited, Jamshedpur 496
The Charm of Buddhist Literature—Norah Forsythe, England 519
'The Young Bengal' and Translation Work—Mohinimohan Mukhopadhaya, M.A., Professor, Asutosh College, Calcutta 525
Evolution of State Concept in Ancient India, IV—Narayanchandra Bandyopadhaya, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University 534
The Singapore Naval Base—Tripurari Chakravarti, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University 543

REVIEWS :

Hatim's Tales—S. K. C. 555
Modern Indian Artists—S. K. C. 557
The Dialect of Robert Burns as Spoken in Central Ayrshire —S. K. C. 564

List of Contributors and their Articles.

Bandopadhyaya, Narayan Chandra, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University :
Evolution of State Concept in Ancient India, II, III, IV 158, 331, 534
Banerjee, Brajendranath, Calcutta :
Some Original Sources for a Biography of Begum Sombre 394
Basu, Pabitrakumar, B.A., Dyarchy :
A Study in "Specific Devolution" 364
Bhandarkar, D. R., M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael Professor, Calcutta University :
Importance of the Study of the Ancient History of India 376

Page.

Chakravarti, Tripurari, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University :
The Singapore Naval Base 543

Chatterjee, Nalinimohan, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University :
Two in One (*Poem*) 74
The Child of Night 348

Chatterjee, Mohinimohan, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta :
Poems 151, 478, 493

Chattopadhaya, Kshetresachandra, M.A., Professor, Rangpur College, Rangpur :
The Boghazköi Inscriptions and their Value for Vedic Chronology (*A Rejoinder*) 287

" Clive Street " :
The Tariff Board 487

Dasgupta, J. C., M.A., Professor, K. N. College, Berhampur :
Steel Development in India 349

Forsythe, Norah, England :
The Charm of Buddhist Literature 519

Gard, Wayne, A. B., Rangoon :
Biology (*Poem*) 152
Queen Supayalat (*Poem*) 357

Ghosh, Praphullachandra, M.A., B.Sc., Lecturer, Calcutta University :
Middle Class Unemployment in Bengal ... 29

Ghosh, M., The Late Professor :
Death and Love (*A Dialogue*) 175
Desideria (*Poem*) 177

Ghosh, Latika, B.A. :
Manmohan Ghosh—The Poet 205

Ghosh, S. C., Formerly, Member, Railway Board, Government of India :
Indian Railways 248

Ghosh, J. C., M.A., B.Litt., Lecturer, Calcutta University :
Femininity in Letters 279

Ghosh, Haricharan, B.A. :
Dyarchy : A Study in " Specific Devolution " ... 643

Page.
Ghosh, Surendranath, Chief Engineer, Jamshedpur :
The Electrification of the Tata Iron Works at Jamshedpur 496
Goodwin, Gwendoline, England :
The Call of Youth (*Poem*) 152
Judd, Francis A., M.A. :
The Flower of Rajasthan (*Drama*) ... 117, 428
Macmillan, Michael, D.Litt., London :
Scottish Chaucerian Poets ... 341, 479
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh, Kt., C.S.I., etc. :
Historical Research in Behar and Orissa ... 130
Mukherjee, Surendrakrishna :
The Late Professor Gouri Sankar De 89
Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur C. C., Additional District Magistrate :
The Price of Love (*Poem*) 293
Mukhopadhaya, Mohinimohan, M.A., Professor, Asutosh College :
'The Young Bengal' and Translation Work ... 525
Munshi, Kanaiyalal, M., M.A., LL.B. :
Vengeance is Mine 109
Murad, F. D., Chairman, Department of Physics, Aligarh :
The Ideals of Japanese Education 461
Noguchi, Yone, Japan :
On Hiroshige's Fireworks at Ryogoku (*Poem*) ... 340
The Willow Tree 415
Samaddar, J. N., B.A., Professor, Patna College, Patna :
The University of Nalanda 39
Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S., Principal, B. N. College, Bankipur :
National Education 62
Note on the Rajgir Pictures 363
Sen, Khagendranath, B.A. :
Has India a Constitution? 75
Dyarchy: A Study in "Specific Devolution" ... 364
Sen, K. C., Deputy Magistrate (Retd.), Madaripur :
A Rationalistic View of Poesy 192
Sen, Benoychandra, M.A., Professor, City College, Calcutta :
The Antiquities of Some Villages of Eastern Bengal 210

Page.

Siddhanta, N. K., M.A., Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow :
History and Literature 179
Sircar, Benoykumar, M.A., Switzerland :
The Stinnes Complex in German Industry ... 471
Sita Ram, B.A., M.R.A.S., Allahabad :
Bir Singh Deo 230, 445
Stephen, Henry, M.A., D.D., Ph.D. :
Immanuel Kant : His Problem and His Solution ... 295
Strickland-Anderson, Lily, M.A. :
A Sketch of the Origin and Development of Egyption Music 95
The Lotus Cup (*Poem*) 191
Winged-Fancy (*Poem*) 278
Benares (*An Interpretation*) 419
Indian Miniatures 485

V. B. :
Retrospection (*Poem*) 88
Winternitz, M., Ph.D., Professor, Prague University, Czecho-Slovakia :
Kautiliya Arthaśastra 1

Index of Articles.

Ancient India, Evolution of State Concept in 158, 331, 534
Arthaśastra, Kautiliya 1
Benares (*An Interpretation*) 419
Biology (*Poem*) 152
Bir Singh Deo 230, 445
Board, The Tariff 487
Constitution, Has India a 75
Death and Love 175
Desideria (*Poem*) 177
Eastern Bengal, The Antiquities of some villages of ... 210
Education, The Ideals of Japanese 461
Egyption Music, A Sketch of the Origin and Development of 95
Electrification of the Tata Iron Works at Jamshedpur, The 496
Ghosh, Manmohan, the Poet 205
Gouri Sankar De, The Late Professor 89
History and Literature 179

Page.
History of India, Importance of the Study of the Ancient 376
India, Steel Development in 349
Industry, The Stinnes Complex in German ... 471
Kant, Immanuel: His Problem and His Solution ... 295
Literature, The Charm of Buddhist 519
Letters, Femininity in 279
Lotus Cup, The (*Poem*) 191
Love, The Price of (*Poem*) 293
Miniatures, Indian 485
Mother, The Unseen (*Poem*) 478
Nalanda, The University of 39
Naval Base, The Singapore 543
Night, The Child of 348
One, Two in (*Poem*) 74
Ourselves 172, 403
Pictures, Note on the Rajgir 363
Poems 151, 493
Poesy, A Rationalistic View of 192
Poets, Scottish Chaucerian 341, 479
Railways, Indian 248
Rajasthan, The Flower of (*Drama*) 117
Research, in Behar and Orissa, Historical 130
Retrospection (*Poem*) 88
Reviews 168, 399, 555
Rysgoku, on Hiroshige's Fireworks at (*Poem*) ... 340
Sombre, Some original sources for a Biography of Begum 394
"Specific Devolution," Dyarchy: A Study in ... 364
Supayalat, Queen (*Poem*) 357
Unemplopment in Bengal, Middle Class 29
Vedic Chronology, The Boghazköi Inscriptions and their Value for 287
Vengeance is Mine 109
Willow Tree, The 415
Winged-Fancy (*Poem*) 278
"Young Bengal" and Translation Work, The ... 525
Youth, The Call of (*Poem*) 152

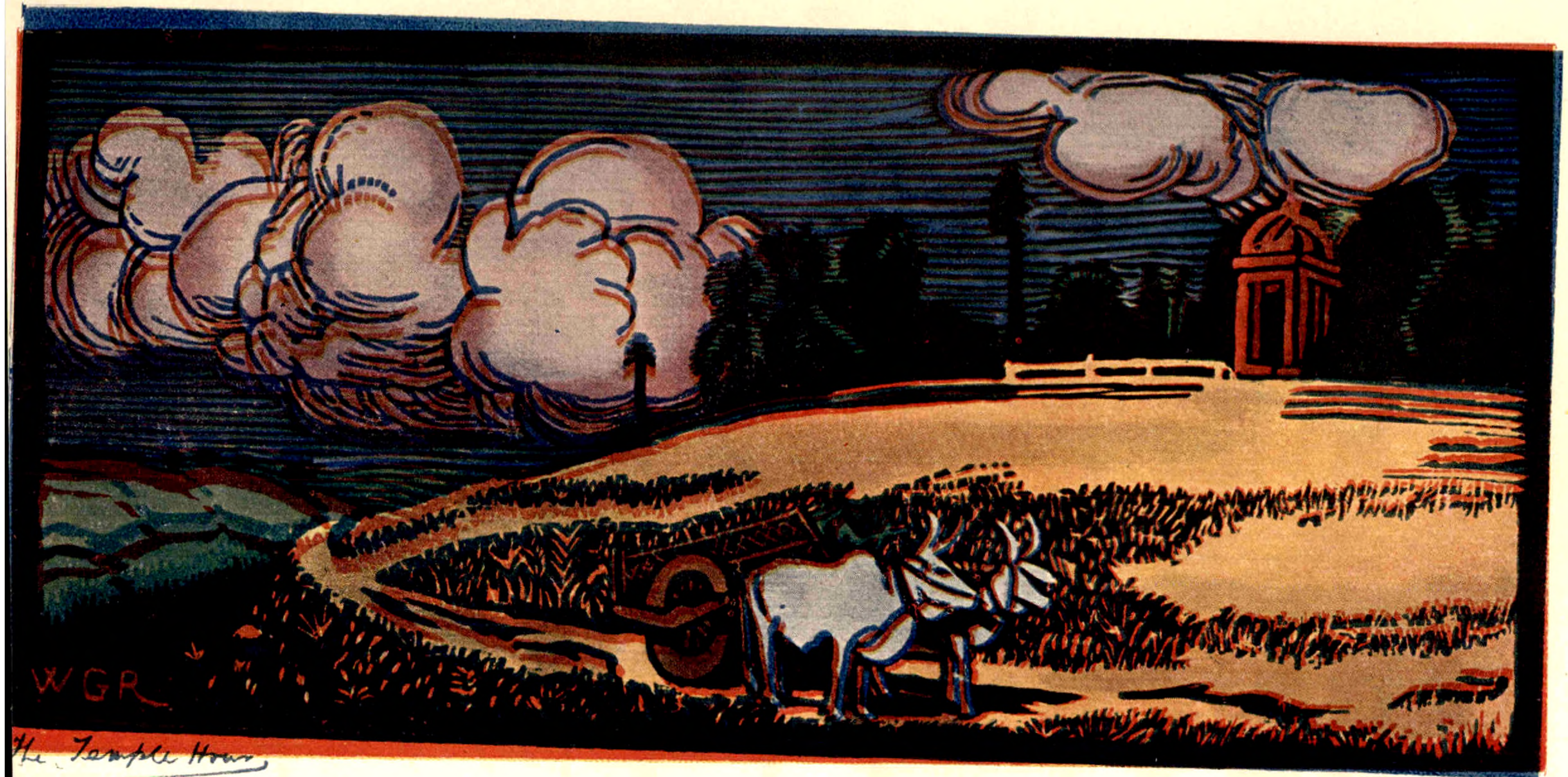
List of Illustrations.

Temple Hour (*in Colours*) 1
Evening Shadows 56

Page.
Gouri Sankar De 83
An Egyptian Nocturne 93
An Egyption Pastoral 93
An Egyption Barcarolle 93
Arjuna (*in Colours*) 175
The Broken Pillar recovered from Dasora 211
The Flower and the Vase (*another view*) 212
The Image of Siddhesvari at Dasara 223
"When Memory's Chains Bind Him Down" (*in Colours*) 415
Benares 119
Tata Iron Works 496

Pictorial Section.

Nalanda 153
Rajgir 359



The Temple Hour

W G Raffé

ROM A COLOURED WOOD-CUT BY W. G. RAFFÉ.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1924

KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA

THE SCIENCE OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

You all know the Indian doctrine of the *trivarga*, that is, of the three aims of life, *viz.*, *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*. According to this doctrine everyman should strive to satisfy his spiritual needs by fulfilling his religious and moral duties (*dharma*), his material needs by acquiring the necessaries of life, property, wealth and power (*artha*), and his sexual desires by following the dictates of love (*kāma*). In later times *mokṣa* or salvation was added as a fourth and highest aim of life. The doctrine of the *trivarga* is at least as old as the grammarian Patañjali who is generally believed to have lived in the 2nd century B.C. It is often mentioned in the Māhābhārata and in the Manusmṛti. But it is not known since when there existed separate schools and sāstras for each of the three parts of the *trivarga* and more specially since when there existed a separate Arthaśāstra. For we know that the earliest Dharmaśāstras, the Dharmasūtras, are closely connected with the Vedāṅga literature, the Śrauta and Gṛhyasūtras, and may go back to the fifth century B. C. But though in the Caranavyūha, one of the Atharvaveda pariśiṣṭas, the Arthaśāstra is said to be an Upaveda of the Ṛgveda, it certainly has nothing to do with the Veda. This theory of Upavedas is only due to the desire of the Brahmans to connect all Śāstras, even the most profane of all, with their own domain, the Veda, and thus to make them Brāhmaṇical.

The very term *Arthaśāstra* shows that it has nothing to do with religious matters. It denotes all doctrines and books concerned with practical life, technics, economics, administration and politics. The most important branch of the Arthaśāstra is politics which as a separate science is also called *Nītiśāstra.* But since a knowledge of technical and economical matters is also required for the king and therefore forms part of 'politics,' the terms Arthaśāstra and Nītiśāstra are often used as synonyms. As in ancient India Government was as a rule monarchical, this science is also called *Rājanīti or Rājaśāstra* "the science of politics for kings"; and as the principal means of politics was force and punishment, it is also called *Daṇḍanīti, i.e.,* 'politics by means of punishment.'

In the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, the gods and sages Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Uśanas, Mahendra Sahasrākṣa, Manu Prācetasa, Bhāradvāja and Gauraśiras are mentioned as Rājaśāstrapranetāraḥ, 'propounders of the science for kings.' Here as elsewhere the same teachers appear both as authors of Dharmaśāstras and of Arthaśāstras. It seems that the Arthaśāstra was originally taught in the schools of the Dharmaśāstra among the 'duties of the king' (rājadharmāḥ), but that at sometime it branched off from the Dharmaśāstra and was taught in separate schools of Arthaśāstra. Even in the old Dharmaśāstras, *e.g.*, in the Āpastambîya Dharmasūtra, some subjects of the Arthaśāstra, such as the building of towns and palaces, tolls and taxes and military matters are treated. But the metrical Dharmaśāstras already presuppose a separate Arthaśāstra.

Yājñavalkya and Nārada lay down the rule that in case of a conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra the former has to be followed. There are also essential differences between the two Śāstras with regard to the way in which they treat of judicial procedure. What is important for the one, is of secondary importance for the other. Thus the Arthaśāstra recommends the use of torture in judicial proceedings and says nothing about ordeals, while the Dharmaśāstra only mentions the latter.

The chief difference, however, between the two Śāstras is one of principle. The Dharmaśāstra teaches *duties* which are supposed to rest on Śruti, or the revealed texts ; it teaches what according to Brāhmaṇical law—according to the *Dharma*—ought to be done. On the other hand, the Arthaśāstra teaches the *methods* by which material success, *artha*, is to be obtained, whether these methods agree with religion and morality or not. *Nīti* is well defined by Māgha (Śiśupālavadha, II, 30)* as having only two aims: one's own rising and conquering the enemy. Therefore the Buddhists would never have any thing to do with the Arthaśāstra and declared the Nīti as lying.

Nevertheless, as it is the custom in India, even for such a worldly science as the Arthaśāstra divine origin is claimed. We read in the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, that the creator Brahman himself had composed a great Sāstra in no less than 1,00,000 lessons (Adhyāyas) in which the whole *trivarga* was explained. For the benefit of the world and for the sake of establishing the *trivarga* he proclaimed the science of Daṇḍanīti. This Nītiśāstra, we are told, was first learnt by the large-eyed (Viśālāksa) Śiva and was shortened by him to only 10,000 Adhyāyas in view of the shortness of man's life. This was further abbreviated by the god Indra to 5,000 Adhāyayas, by Bṛhaspati to 3,000, and finally by Uśanas to 1,000 Adhyāyas.

We see from this passage that Indian tradition ascribes the origin of the Arthaśāstra to Bṛhaspati, who is also known as a teacher of the Lokāyata or materialistic system of philosophy. And there is no doubt, that Lokāyata and Arthaśāstra are closely connected. A text of the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra has been published but this is certainly not the old Arthaśāstra of Bṛhaspati, as little as the work published as Śukranīti is the old Arthaśāstra of Śukra or Uśanas.

---

* आत्मोदयः परग्लानिर्द्वयं नीतिरितीयती ।

The oldest and the most important, I might almost say, the only real Arthaśāstra that has come down to us is the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra. This is one of the most remarkable books in the whole of Sanskrit literature. There is, in fact, no other work that gives us so much rich information on the social, economical and political conditions in ancient India than this Arthaśāstra ascribed to Kauṭilya, the minister of the Maurya king Chandragupta. That such a work was in existence had been known to German scholars as long ago as 1874 and 1883, when *Th. Aufrecht* and *Th. Zachariae* first referred to it. But the text has only become known in 1909 by the edition of *R. Shama Sastri*, to whom we are also indebted for an English translation, published in 1915. A revised edition of the text was published by the same scholar in 1919.

The oldest form in which all scientific subjects were taught in the Brāhmaṇical schools, was the Sūtra style, a kind of aphoristic prose, in which chiefly nouns, especially abstract nouns and compounds and hardly any verbs were used. The purpose of these Sūtras was to say as much as possible in as few words as possible. You know the saying of Patañjali, that a Sūtrakāra rejoices over the saving of half a short vowel as much as over the birth of a son. These Sūtras had to be learnt by heart by the pupil, and could only be understood with the help of a commentary given by the teacher. When the Brāhmaṇical schools were replaced by special schools for each branch of science, the Sūtra style was retained, but generally the Sūtras were followed immediately by a Bhāṣya or commentary, composed by the author himself or one of his pupils. In this way a characteristic Bhāṣya style was developed, in which the disputations of the pundits in the Sabhās are reflected. The best example of this Bhāṣya style is the elegant prose of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. But even before there were any schools or Śāstras, doctrines both of *dharma* and of *artha* had been taught in the form of memorial verses (Kārikās) and maxims. Numerous such maxims, containing rules of conduct for the king, are found in many parts of the Mahābhārata. Now the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra is composed in a mixture of Sūtra and Bhāsya style, occasionally the prose is interrupted by memorial verses or maxims, mostly ślokas, but sometimes also verses in Upajāti metre. One or several verses are always found at the end of an Adhyāya.

So much about the style of the work. Now let me give you a very short account of its contents.

The first Adhikaraṇa treats according to its title of *Vinaya*, that is, of discipline or the education of princes. A prince should be instructed in philosophy (Ānvīkṣikī), in the Veda (Trayī), in economics (Vārtā), and in politics (Daṇḍanīti). Philosophy is the foundation of all other sciences, for it sharpens the mind and makes it fit for thinking, speaking and acting properly in all conditions of life both in adversity and in good luck. By reasoning (hetubhiranvīkṣamāṇā) philosophy helps to discern in the Veda what is right and wrong, in economics what is useful and what is useless, in politics what are right and what are false methods. Knowledge of Vedas and Vedāṅgas is necessary for the prince, in order to know the duties of the castes and stages of life (āśrama). For as regards the duties of men, the Arthaśāstra fully acknowledges the Brāhmaṇical doctrine of *Svadharma*, that is, of different laws and duties for each caste and āśrama. After the tonsure ceremony (caula) the prince should learn writing and arithmetic. After the Upanayana he should study philosophy and Veda under learned Brāhmaṇs (Śiṣṭebhyaḥ). Economics he should learn from the superintendents of the different departments and politics from theoretical and practical politicians. He should always keep intercourse with aged learned men, in order to make his education perfect. He should devote the morning to military training, the afternoon to hearing the Itihāṣas, that is, to literary studies. But all education depends for its success on the controlling of one's senses (*indriyavijaya*). Therefore it is of the utmost importance that the prince should learn to control his organs of sense, and to conquer the group of six enemies (*Śatruṣaḍvarga*), *viz.*, lust, anger, greed, pride, haughtiness and vainglory.

But even the best ruler cannot hope for success, unless he has appropriate friends and servants. Hence several chapters are devoted to the choice of ministers and officials, and to the ways and means by which their character may be found out. For this purpose it is necessary to make use of all kinds of spies and to offer all sorts of temptations to them. Only thus their reliability can be ascertained.

This institution of spies is the subject of many chapters of the Arthaśāstra. The different kinds of spies and their methods are carefully described. There are spies in the disguise of disciples, of ascetics, of peasants, of merchants and female mendicants. Desparados (tīkṣṇa) and poisoners are ever ready to use violent means against traitors or enemies of the king. Cooks, barbers and other menials, persons in the disguise of hunchbacks, dwarfs, deaf or mute or blind people, nuns, singers, dancers, actors, prostitutes, etc., are especially fit for spying out the private life of ministers and courtiers. There are spies who are used only in one place, and wandering spies. And the spy service is carefully organised, the spies communicate with one another and with the head office by signs and secret writing. This organisation is used not only against enemies within and outside the state, but it is also spread over the whole country, in order to spy out citizens and country people as to their allegiance to the king. Loyal persons are rewarded, disaffected persons are got rid of rather by foul than by fair means. Spies are also employed for winning over adherents and for causing sedition in a neighbouring country of a hostile king. Ambassadors in foreign countries are also a kind of spies, and are always in communication with the head quarters of espionage organization.

A dreary chapter is that on *rājaputrarakṣaṇa*, in which the king is advised how to protect himself from his own sons, who are said to be a constant danger to him. 'From their very birth he should watch the princes, for princes are like crabs inclined to devour their begetters.'

The chapter on the daily duties of the king has been sarcastically quoted by the poet Daṇḍin in his Daśakumāracarita. For according to the rules given here by Kauṭilya it would appear that there could not be any harder and more troublesome life than that of a ruler. Not one minute he is, according to these rules, left to himself, he has hardly time to sleep and he is in constant danger of his life. A whole chapter is devoted to the construction of the women's apartments in the royal palace, and the measures to be taken for the protection of the king in the seraglio. For nowhere is he in greater danger and many kings are known to have been assassinated in the women's apartments. And another chapter gives general rules as to how the life of the king is to be protected from danger of being poisoned or else assassinated.

The second Adhikaraṇa treats of the superintendents (adhyakṣa) of the different departments and of these departments themselves. Here we get the most detailed and most valuable information about such matters as the foundation of towns and villages, the distribution of land, the building of forts, financial administration, state revenue, the composition of royal writs, on gems, on mining, on industrial establishments, trade and commerce, forestry, armoury, weights and measures, on agriculture, on the supervision of the liquor trade, on shipping, on the regulation of prostitution, on cattle breeding, on horses and elephants, collection of taxes, on water works, markets, passports, etc. In the first chapter are included very interesting rules about the king's duty to provide for orphans, for the aged and the sick, for helpless women with child and for their new-born children. Here we also learn something about the corruption of officials in the financial department. They are never to be trusted, for—

"As it is not possible if you have honey or poison on your tongue, not to taste it, so it is for a king's official in the finance department impossible not to taste at least something of the 'king's money.' As with fish moving in water, it is impossible to know when they are drinking water so it is impossible with government officials to know when they take money for themselves."

In the chapter on the duties of the Nāgaraka or city superintendent we read of regulations for strangers coming into the town, of sanitary measures, and the duties of householders with regard to preventing danger from fire and helping when a fire has broken out.

The third Adhikaraṇa treats of civil law and shows much similarity with the law books of Yājñavalkya and Nārada. The fourth Adhikaraṇa is devoted to the *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana,* that is, the 'clearing of the land of thorns,' that is, of dangerous elements by police regulations and criminal law. Such thorns are all kinds of artizans who cheat their customers, careless physicians, dishonest merchants, musicians, dancers and similar folk. Such thieves who are not called thieves he should prevent from being a plague to the country.

To get rid of them, spies are largely employed. Some chapters treat on examination in case of sudden death, or trial by torture, and on different kinds of punishment.

The fifth Adhikaraṇa teaches all kinds of cunning and sometimes abominable methods which a king is advised to employ, in order to get rid of unreliable ministers, traitors and state enemies, who are too powerful to be dealt with openly. For instance, a spy is sent out to instigate the brother of a minister, suspected of high treason, and to take him to the king in audience. The king by promising to confer upon him the property of his brother, causes him to take the latter's life. And when he has murdered his brother by weapon or poison, he is put to death as a fratricide. Or, the king may send such a minister on an expedition for putting down some rebellious wild tribe or for some similar purpose. In an affray that ensues desperado-spies in the disguise of robbers who have been sent with the expedition army, shall murder the minister and it should be reported that he was killed in the battle. Or the king when going out to some war or hunting expedition, receives these ministers in audience. While they are with the king, desperado-spies with concealed weapons according to a previous arrangement, try to enter the audience hall, let themselves be caught and searched by the door-keepers and declare themselves to be accomplices of the minister. This is made known to the public, the ministers are put to death, and instead of the desperado-spies some other people are to be executed (anye vadhyāḥ).

In the second chapter of the same Adhikaraṇa the king is taught how to fill his empty treasury by all kinds of fair and foul means. First of all, if the regular taxes do not bring sufficient revenues, he should exact from peasants, merchants and tradesmen as much of taxes and dues as possible by threats and promises. Secret agents may also instigate rich people to voluntary gifts for which they are rewarded by honorary posts or by an umbrella, a turban, or an ornament. But also the property of religious communities and of temples as far as they are not assigned for the use of learned Brahmans (śrotriya), may, under some pretext or other, be appropriated to the king's treasury. The superintendent of temples and idols (devatādhyakṣa) may also collect a treasure from the different public shrines in forts and in the country and bring them to the king's treasury. Or, the king may have a shrine with an idol erected during the night and the news spread abroad that it had sprung up by itself and from the pilgrimages and processions he may derive profit. Or, spies disguised as saints (siddhasa), may cause a panic by announcing that there was a Rākṣasa at a certain tree, and make the people bring gold to appease the demon.

Quite a number of devices are taught by which the king can not only replenish his treasury, but also at the same time, rid himself of his adversaries. For instance a quarrel is raised between the members of a suspected family, poisoners are engaged to poison one of them, the others are accused of the offence, and their property is confiscated.

Very interesting is the third chapter of this Adhikaraṇa, which contains a complete list of the salaries and wages of all Government officials and king's servants from the highest priests and ministers with an annual salary of 48000 paṇa down to the menial servants who receive only 60 paṇas a year.

But the Arthaśāstra contains not only instructions for the king, but also, in the two last chapters of this Adhikaraṇa, teaches ministers and courtiers how to gain and retain the king's favour and also how to get all power into their own hands.

The VI th and VII th Adhikaraṇas treat of politics in the narrower sense of the word. Here we find the same method of classification and definition as in other śāstras. We have here the seven Prakṛtis or elements of the kingdom (king, minister, country, fort, treasury, army and friend); the maṇḍalas of friendly and hostile neighbours with their divisions and sub-divisions and again the six methods of politics, peace, war, neutrality, mobilisation, alliance and double policy (dvaidhîbhāva). These two Adhikaraṇas contain the most detailed instructions on the methods of foreign policy.

The VIIIth Adhikaraṇa treats of the Vyāsanas or evils of an empire, that is, on the one hand the vices of the rulers (hunting, gambling, drinking and women) and on the other hand of calamities, such as epidemics, floods, fire, etc.

The following Adhikaraṇas, IX and X are entirely devoted to military matters, the recruiting and organisation of armies, etc. At the beginning of a battle the king is told how to stimulate the soldiers by speeches, supported by priests and astrologers who describe the joys of heaven awaiting the brave warrior, and the tortures of hell destined for the cowards. But as it is not always possible to conquer the enemy by force, cunning also must be employed. For, as it is said in a verse :

> " The arrow shot by the archer,
>   May kill one or even none,
> But cunning employed by the wise,
>   Will kill even the child in the womb."

This verse leads over to the following Adhikaraṇas (XI, XII) in which all kinds of sinister methods are taught, by which an enemy may be conquered. Spies, desperados, poisoners, and prostitutes may be freely employed. Warrior chiefs who get their livelihood by warfare such as those of Kāmbhoja, Surāṣṭra, or the Licchivikas, Vṛjikas, Mallakas, etc.—may be either won as allies or separated by creating disunion among them. For the latter purport courtezans, as female spies, are specially recommended. The employment of wicked women and the abuse of religious institutions are most conspicuous in the methods recommended to a weak king for conquering a stronger one.

Thus, a king may send spies into the hostile country not only in order to spy out everything, but also through spies in the disguise of meat or liquor dealers, to poison the people. Or, in places of worship in the enemy's country where people gather for pilgrimage and sacrifices, he may secretly have machines erected, by which wall or rocks will fall down and kill numbers of enemies.

It is strange that the same Kauṭilya who in many places of the Arthaśāstra proves himself to be an orthodox follower of Brāhmaṇism and often recommends the performance of religious rites, and always admonishes the king to protect Brahmans and ascetics and to take due regard of their privileges,—that the same Kauṭilya has no scruples whatever in recommending stratagems which can only be called an abuse of religious institutions, and a speculation on the credulousness and religiosity (or you may call it superstitiousness, for what is superstition to the one is religion to the other) of the people.

Thus, if the king wishes to seize hold of a village in the enemy's country, he should encourage his own people and cause panic among the enemies by having accounts spread abroad of his being omniscient and in direct communication with deities. Whenever he has got some information about the enemy's country through his spies, or through letter-carrying pigeons, he has the news of his knowledge and rumours about his knowing everything through superhuman agency spread abroad. This fame of having intercourse with divine beings may be acquired in the following ways, for instance :

The king, when worshipping at the fire-altar or at a shrine, should hold conversations with the god of fire or the deity of the shrine, while in reality spies are, by means of a subterraneous passage, hidden in the fire altar or in the interior of the hollow statue of the god and speak out of them. In the same way he may be found to hold converse with Nāgas, who are in reality, spies rising up from the water. He may also make use of such magical tricks as are generally performed by jugglers at night, in order to appear on the surface of the water talking with god Varuṇa or with Nāga maidens. Astrologers and Paurāṇikas or rather spies disguised as such should also contribute to spread the fame of the king's supernatural powers and tell stories of his having received weapons and treasures from heavenly beings, or of his understanding the language of beasts and birds.

In order to get a hostile king into his power stratagems like the following are recommended to a conqueror:

A spy in the guise of an ascetic with shaved head or braided hair and followed by a great number of disciples with braided hair (who of course are also spies), should take up his abode near the capital city of the enemy, living in the cave of a mountain. Bringing presents of roots and fruits the disciples should go to the palace and invite the king and the ministers to see the venerable ascetic. When the king arrives at the spot, the ascetic shall tell him stories about ancient kings and countries and then he shall say: "Every time when I get a hundred years old, I enter into the fire and come out young again. Now here in your presence I will enter the fire for the fourth time; it was necessary for me to have you brought here; choose three boons." When the king agrees the ascetic should say: "You must live here for seven (days and) nights with wife and children before the performance of the miracle." And while the king is staying there, a sudden attack shall be made on him.

While the unfair methods of conquest are described at great length, only one chapter is devoted to the 'honest' siege of a fortress. A very interesting chapter treats of the pacification of a conquered country. Here we read: "After having acquired a new territory the victorious king should cover the enemy's vices with his own virtues and shine out the enemy's virtues by doubling his own virtues. By strict observance of his duties, by bestowing rewards, privileges and honours, he should do everything that is pleasing and contributing to the welfare of the subjects......He should adopt the manners, costume, language and style of life of the people. And he shall follow their faith (bhakti) as regards local deities, processions, festivals and amusements......He should grant a general amnesty (sarvabandhanamokṣaṇam) and afford help to the distressed, the helpless, and the sick......On the Cāturmāsya festivals he should forbid the killing of animals for half a month, on the full moon nights for four days and on the (auspicious) Nakṣatra (day) of the king or the country for one day.

In this whole chapter the Arthaśāstra does not relinquish its *artha* point of view. For it recommends humanity, justice, benevolence and regard for the people's religious feelings not for the sake of dharma, but only as the best means by which a conquered country can be pacified and kept in possession.

The XIV Adhikaraṇa, called aupaniṣadikam is a treatise on witchcraft, difficult to understand. We find here recipes for the preparation of powders and mixtures for causing instantaneous death, blindness, madness, leprosy or other diseases and again others that enable a man to fast for a month or to change his colour or to make himself invisible or to walk on fire and the like.

The last Adhikaraṇa describes the plan of the whole work and gives a list of the logical methods employed. This list contains 32 items while the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā and the philosophical Bhāṣyas know only of five or six such methods.

From this short survey of the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra it will be seen that it is a perfectly unique work that throws more light on life in ancient India than any other work of Indian literature. And it would be a precious work, even if it were not older than the seventh century A.D. when we find it actually quoted by Daṇḍin. But it would be perfectly invaluable if it really were as it pretends to be, the work of the minister of Maurya Candragupta and would thus belong to the 4th century B.C. It would then be the first and only dated literary document of Indian culture from such an early time. And nothing would be more desirable than to possess such a book. But for this very reason we must be careful not to let our judgment be influenced by our desires, when examining the reasons which speak for and against assigning the work to Candragupta's minister.

Now on what ground is the work ascribed to Kauṭilya? There are, first of all, the statements found in the book itself. At the end of the first chapter which contains the table of contents we read

सुखग्रहणविज्ञेयं तत्त्वार्थपदनिश्चितम् ।
कौटिल्येन कृतं शास्त्रं विमुक्तग्रन्थविस्तरम् ॥

"This text book (*śāstra*) that is easy to grasp and to understand, in which the words and their meanings are accurately (tattvena) settled, has been composed by Kauṭilya, avoiding prolixity of the text."

At the end of the 10th chapter of the 2nd Adhikaraṇa, which treats of the execution of royal writs, we read

सर्व्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च ।
कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिःकृतः ॥

"Having gone over all sciences (śāstrāṇi) and relying on practice, Kauṭilya has, for the sake of kings, composed the rules about writs."

At the end of the last chapter of the book we have the śloka

येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।
अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतं ॥

"This text book has been composed by him, who quickly and impatiently raised the Arthaśāstra (from former imperfect text-books) passed his sword and took the earth that had passed to the Nandas (out of their hands)."

Finally, after the colophon, at the end of the whole book we find the verse (in bad metre):

दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्तिं वहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् ।
स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रं च भाष्यं च ॥

"Seeing the manifold discrepancies in the text books of the commentators, Viṣṇugupta himself composed both the Sūtra and the commentary."

Moreover, in many chapters we find discussions of different opinions, which regularly end by stating the opinion of the author with the words: इति कौटिल्यः "So says Kauṭilya."

What do all these statements prove? In my opinion, nothing more than that the work pretends to be composed by Kauṭilya, just as the Mahābhārata in its introductory and concluding Adhyāyas pretends to be composed by Vyāsa, the Manu-Smṛti by Manu, or the Viṣṇu-Smṛti by the god Viṣṇu. And as regards the verse in which Kauṭilya says that he has taken the kingdom from the Nandas, it seems to me to be very improbable, that the real minister in a book, written by the order or intended for his king, would have written such words which could not be very pleasing to the king. Or, if we assume that he wrote the book after Candragupta's death, the latter's successor would certainly have resented such a statement. *Prof. Jacobi*, it is true, sees in this verse the proud self-consciousness of a great statesman, of the "Indian Bismarck," as he calls Kauṭilya. But I doubt, whether the contents of the Arthaśāstra justify the assumption that it is the work of a statesman and not of a Pundit. For we find in it exactly the same predilection for endless and pedantic classifications and definitions as in other scientific works composed by Pundits. For instance, the sovereign, the minister, the territory with its subjects, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the ally form the *seven* prakṛtis or constituents of a kingdom (or State), and we have a long list of the good qualities which each of them should have. Or what has been called the 'inter-state relations,' is a kind of Geometry of the situation of the States. The Vijigīṣu (who, of course, is always a model of virtue, possessed of the best Prakṛtis, and is the embodiment of statesmanship) with his neighbouring kings forms a Maṇḍala or 'Circle of States,' consisting of 12 states, in which the immediate neighbour is always the enemy, the neighbour of the enemy always the ally. This method of classifying is well known to us from other śāstras and certainly looks more like the work of Pundits than of a statesman.

We also find lengthy discussions after the manner of the śāstras as for instance on the choice of ministers. Shall a king choose his playmates as ministers? No, they would have no respect for him. Shall he choose those who share their secrets with him? No, for they also know his secrets, and will make him dependent on them. Shall he choose those who have saved him from some danger? No, for this only proves their faithfulness, not their cleverness. Shall he choose those whose fathers and grandfathers were already ministers of the royal family? No, for they would have too much power over the king and try to rule themselves. Shall he appoint new ministers who are versed in the Nītiśāstra? No, it is not enough to know the Śāstras, a minister should also understand business. He should appoint as ministers such men, who are distinguished by good family, cleverness, honesty, braveness and faithfulness.

But we also find mere quibbling on such questions as: which is the worst of the four voices: hunting, gambling, addiction to women and drinking? Or, what is worse, quarrels among the people, or quarrels among kings? and so on.

And the numerous discussions, in which the opinions of different teachers (such as Bhāradvāja, Viśālākṣa, Parāśara, etc.) or of different schools (Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas, Auśanasas) are quoted, as opposed to that of Kauṭilya, can only be explained by assuming that the Nītiśāstra was taught in schools long before the composition of our Arthaśāstra. These discussions generally end by stating the author's opinion with the words: iti Kauṭilyaḥ. It is, of course, possible that an author may state his opinion in this way. But we generally find this mention of the name of a teacher in texts emanating from schools. Thus, Jaimini is mentioned in the Pūrvamīmāṁsā sūtra, Bādarāyaṇa in the Vedāntasūtra, Baudhāyana in the Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra, but I do not think that Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya ever states his opinion by saying: iti Patañjaliḥ.

The very name Kauṭilya which is given to the author of our work—he is never called Cāṇakya, and only once Viṣṇugupta in the final śloka which has all the appearance of a copyist's addition, for it follows after the last colophon—raises grave doubts as to his being the real author of the work. Kauṭilya means 'crookedness,' 'falsehood'; is it likely that Candragupta's minister should have called himself 'Mr. Crooked' or 'Crookedness personified'? I doubt it.

And what do we really know of Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta, as the minister of Candragupta is called? The Purāṇas unanimously report (in form of prophecy) that Kauṭilya destroyed the royal dynasty of the Nandas, and anointed the Maurya Candragupta king. They never mention a single name about his having been a teacher or an author. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya mentions the Mauryas and the Sabhā of Candragupta, but says nothing about his famous minister. Whatever else is reported about Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya, belongs to the realm of legend and poetry, thus the story underlying the drama Mudrārākṣasa, and the stories found in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and in Hemachandra's Pariśiṣṭaparvan. In these stories Cāṇakya, as he is generally called, appears as a type of the clever and unscrupulous diplomatist, but never as a writer or teacher. Only in the first act of the Mudrārākṣasa Cāṇakya is accompanied by his disciple.

In or about 322 B.C. Candragupta came to the throne. In 302 B.C. the Greek Megasthenes came as the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator to Candragupta's court and stayed there for many years. Of his account of India—The Indika,—which has formed the basis of all later reports on India in the writings of Greek and Roman authors, only fragments have been preserved. It is strange enough that neither Megasthenes nor any other Greek or Roman author knows anything about the minister of King Candragupta.

Radhakumud Mookerji, Narendranath Law, Vincent Smith and Dr. Thomas have pointed out some agreements between the account of Megasthenes and the condition described in the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, from which they concluded that the author of the latter and the Greek Megasthenes must have been contemporaries. But a closer examination and comparison of the two accounts as it has been made by my pupil Dr. Otto Stein, has shown that Megasthenes agrees with the Kauṭilya as a rule only in such thing as would not change at different periods of time, for instance, irrigation by means of canals, choice of sites for fortresses, the methods of taming and training elephants, the custom of polygamy, the longing for children, the employment of spies, etc. On the other hand Megasthenes differs widely from Kauṭilya in the most essential details. Thus Megasthenes speaks of mile stones [1] on the roads, which are unknown to Kauṭilya. According to Megasthenes water for irrigation is carefully distributed to private people, while Kauṭilya knows nothing of such a distribution of water, but mentions private water works Megasthenes speaks of wooden ramparts for fortresses, as also the excavations at Pāṭaliputra (Patna) have shown remnants of wooden structures of the Maurya time. Kauṭilya, however, says that the ramparts should be made of stones, and emphatically adds, that they should not be made of wood on account of danger from fire. According to Megasthenes no private person was allowed to possess elephants or horses, but they were the monopoly of the king. Kauṭilya knows nothing of such a monopoly. In Mṛcchakaṭika also Vasantasenā owns elephants. What Megasthenes reports about metals, mining, metallurgy points to a more primitive time than the numerous details given by Kauṭilya about these things which show a great advance in technical knowledge and in Chemistry.

---

[1] Sign-boards noting turnings, and distances put up at intervals 'ten stades.'

It is of great importance, that Kauṭilya among the different kinds of gold mentions artificial gold, made from other metals by chemical process in which mercury is used. Now the use of mercury both in alchemy and in medicine is well known in India, but is found only in later literature. Even P. C. Ray, in his excellent history of Indian Chemistry, who believes that alchemy is indigenous in India, cannot trace it back any further than the earliest Tantric text in the 5th or the 6th century A.D. In medical works mercury is mentioned only once in Caraka's treatise, once in the Bower MS. (4th century A.D.) and twice in the Suśruta. It is entirely unknown in earlier literature. And I am inclined to think that this chapter on minerals is a strong proof of later origin of the Arthaśāstra.

To return to Megasthenes, he tells us that women follow the king, when he is going out to hunt, that armed women accompany him on war chariots or horses or elephants both on his hunting expeditions and into battle, and he adds that anybody approaching the women is killed. Kauṭilya knows only of men who accompany the king when going out hunting.

Megasthenes emphatically states that there is no slavery in India. Both the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstras know different kinds of male and female slaves.

Megasthenes says, that the agriculturists who are the majority of the population never take part in war or in other public services but their land is never devastated in war.

CRCU 115

Kauṭilya, however, mentions separate armies consisting of Brāhmans, of Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras amongst whom were no doubt also agriculturists. From Kauṭilya we also know that war in ancient India was as much a plague for the tillers of the soil as it is now in all countries.

In one passage (Kaut., p. 331 f.) the question is discussed, whether one's own army or that of the enemy is a greater plague for the people, and Kauṭilya decides that "the enemy's army is a plague for the whole country, for it oppresses by robbing, burning, destroying, and abducting." Kauṭilya also says (p. 404) that before proceeding with a siege the king must begin to damage the neighbouring country by the destruction of agricultural produce, of standing crops, of their trade and by causing the people to run away.

But the greatest difference between Kauṭilya and Megasthenes is found in their respective accounts of the administration. More especially the organization of the financial bureaucracy as described by Megasthenes is quite different from that found in the Arthaśāstra. As to the local or municipal administration Megasthenes gives a great many details about six corporations each consisting of five officials, while Kauṭilya knows nothing about such corporations but only of individval officials who have different agenda.

The military organization also as described by Megasthenes, is essentially different from that which Kauṭilya has in view. According to Megasthenes the Indians had a *navy* with a commander or admiral (ναναρχοζ) who has five officials under him. There is not the slightest hint in the Arthaśāstra that a fleet for military purposes existed at all. Kauṭilya only knows of a Nāvadhyakṣa, a superintendent of ships, who has entirely to deal with fiscal and commercial matters. Megasthenes again speaks of six bodies of five military officials each, one for the navy, one for the bullock-teams, one for the infantry, one for the horse, one for the chariots, and one for the elephants. Kauṭilya knows nothing

GS 1412

about the use of bullock teams for military purposes, nor of the six pentads of military officials.

In some cases the descriptions of Megasthenes may be inaccurate or coloured for tendencious purposes, but in other cases he evidently describes social and political conditions which are different from those existing in the time when the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra was written, At any rate it can no longer be asserted that Kauṭilya and Megasthenes are in full agreement and therefore must be contemporaries.

If we look at the contents of the work itself, we find that it treats not only of politics, but of a great many subjects of administration which requires the knowledge of specialists in architecture, in agriculture, in mining, mineralogy, and chemistry, in military matters, etc. It is quite impossible that one man should have been a specialist in all these branches of knowledge. It might be said, and it has been suggested by *Jacobi*, that Kauṭilya had officials of different departments as collaborators. This is possible. But it seems to me to be more probable that there existed special treatises on all these topics, which the author of the Arthaśāstra included in his work with little alterations, just as he made ample use of previous works on politics in the narrower sense of the word. Therefore our work begins with the words :

पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थ शास्त्राणि पूर्व्वाचार्य्यैः
प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यै कमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।

that is, " Extracting and summarizing almost all the Arthaśāstras which have been propounded by previous teachers with a view of winning and maintaining the earth, this one Arthaśāstra has been composed."

That such special treatises were incorporated in the Arthaśāstra, is also made probable by the fact that sometimes the same subject is treated in different chapters. But this presupposes that at the time of the composition of the Arthaśāstra there existed a rich literature not only on politics, but also on economics and all kinds of technical arts. There even existed works on the diseases of trees (Gulma vṛkṣāyurveda). It is at least not very probable that such a highly developed technical literature existed in or before the 4th century B. C.

What literature, besides this Arthaśāstra literature, was known at the time of the composition of the Kauṭilīya may be seen from the first chapters on the education of princes. The Veda and the Vedāṅgas were known, as well as an epic narrative and didactic literature. The king should devote the afternoon to the hearing of Itihāsas (Itihāsa śravaṇe). And itihāsa is here (p. 10) defined as including Purāṇa (legendary and mythological lore), itivṛttam (history), ākhāyikā (tales and stories), udāharaṇam (examples, fables), dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra. The latter cannot mean manuals of law and politics, but only didactic poetry (maxims, dialogues and fables) in which *dharma* and artha were taught. Of philosophical literature there seem to have existed works on Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata. For *ānvīkṣikī* (vidyā) the 'science of investigating' is defined as including these three systems. But it is difficult to think, that no other philosophical systems existed. Probably Vedānta and perhaps also Pūrvamīmāṃsā were included in the term *trayī*, 'theology.' Certainly the way of arguing by stating first the *pūrvapakṣa*, the most obvious opinion which, however, is not adopted and then the *uttarapakṣa* the opinion adopted by Kauṭilya shows an acquaintance with the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. And the last chapter of the whole work, in which 32 methodical artifices are enumerated which have been used by the author shows an acquaintance with a fully developed canon of logic. Of the Lokāyata literature nothing has come down to us. It is not impossible that what was later developed in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools, was originally taught in the Lokāyata. At any rate, it is difficult to believe that the author of our work was not acquainted with any other systems of philosophy but the Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata.

Besides the stories of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, many legends are alluded to the sources of which are unknown. But they are all Brāhmaṇical legends. And the whole Arthaśāstra shows, that its author was a strict adherent of Brāhmanism, and that he presupposes a social system entirely founded on Brāhmaṇic religion and custom. In performing his duties the king is always surrounded by priests. The sacrificial priest (Ṛtvij), the teacher (ācārya) and the Purohita receive the same highest salary (48000 paṇas) as the prime minister, the Commander of the army, the heir-apparent (yuvarāja), the queen dowager and the first queen. (By receiving such a high salary, the author adds, they will not be discontent and not yield to temptation).

Absolutely Brāhmaṇical is the teaching of the Svadharma, that is, of a different law for each of the four castes and the four Āśramas (stages of life). In the chapter on *indriyavijaya* we find as examples of wicked kings who did not control their senses, in the first line, kings who offended the Brahmans. Great importance is attached to the performance of religious ceremonies. In contradiction to other teachers, Kauṭilya says that the best way to protect a king from his own sons is to perform the prescribed sacrifices and other religious rites after conception in order that a good son may be born, and after birth, that he may grow up without becoming a danger to his father.

In the daily life of the king, his performing the religious rites is most essential. In the morning he receives the benedictions of the priests (Ṛtvij, ācārya, purohita) and before going to the darbar, he must circumambulate a cow with its calf and a bull. He shall personally attend to the cases concerning gods, heretical sects, learned Brahmans, cows, sacred places, ascetics and Yogins. Priests and learned Brahmans should be endowed with land. Forests for Veda study and Som growing (ब्रह्मसोमारण्यानि) shall be given to Brahmans and groves for performing austerities to ascetics. Worship of fire (*agni pujā*) is recommended as a protection against danger from fire, worship of rivers (*nadīpujā*) as a protection against flood, mountains are worshipped to avert danger from tigers. During droughts Indra, Gaṅgā, Parvata and Mahākaccha are to be worshipped. Against epidemics Śānti and Prāyaścitta rites are performed by Siddhas and Tāpasas. Against cattle diseases nirājana (waving of lights in cowsheds) and worship of svadaivata is helpful. Rats may be destroyed (by keeping cats, mungoose and by witchcraft rites), but on full moon days rats are worshipped, and there is also a fine for killing rats that have been caught. It is similar with snakes.

A fine of 100 paṇas is prescribed for a Caṇḍāla who touches an Ārya woman and the same fine for one who entertains at rites for gods or ancestors Buddhists (Śākyas), Ajīvikas and other ascetics of Śūdra origin (śūdrapravrajita).

There is a strange discrepancy between this strict Brāhmaṇical religiosity of our author, and the unscrupulousness with which the same author recommends all kinds of cunning tricks, in which religious rites and religiosity of the people are abused for political purposes of which I have given you some examples.

In this respect the author of the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra may be compared to *Machiavelli* who does not shrink back from recommending the most abominable means for attaining an end, but is, at the same time, a most orthodox Christian and very religious. On the other hand, the often heard designation of Kauṭilya as 'the Indian Machiavelli' is only partly justified. There is one marked difference between the Indian and the Italian author. The latter is above all a historian who derives his methods from the lesson of history. This historical point of view is entirely foreign to the author of the Arthaśāstra, who is a pure theoretician and only asks: which methods are useful to a monarch for gain and maintaining power and which are not? Both Machiavelli and Kauṭilya, however, agree in standing 'jenseits von gut und bote,' that is in disregarding—for the time being—moral principles.

Some scholars, it is true, have tried to make out that Kauṭilya is a teacher of political morals. Benimadhab Barua in his 'History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy' devotes a whole chapter to the Arthaśāstra under the heading of 'political morals.' And Kalidas Nag in his very valuable thesis, recently published on Diplomatic theories in ancient India, repudiates the comparison of Kauṭilya with Machiavelli. He even speaks of Kauṭilya as having discussed the fundamental principles of international law. But I am afraid, we shall look in vain for anything that can be called 'law' at all in the inter-state relations with which Kauṭilya deals. It was Adam Smith, I believe, who first said (what has often been repeated since) that no human society can exist without any regulations of conduct being observed, and that even robbers, when they join in a gang, obey certain rules in their relations to one another. Thus in inter-state relations also, treaties are made which are kept as long as none of the parties is strong enough to break them. Kauṭilya gives detailed instructions not only about making but also about breaking treaties and setting hostages free. Even in the times of the Mahābhārata war there were rules about fair and unfair fighting. It was, for instance, considered unfair in a club fight, to strike against the thighs of the adversary—which did not however prevent the great hero, Bhîma from breaking Duryodhana's thighs with his club.

What Kauṭilya has to say about peace treaties and alliances has hardly anything to do with 'international law,' but is only part of the war-relations. Where war is impossible or not advisable some kind of treaty or alliance is made —until a king is strong enough to go to war.

Kalidas Nag even tries to make Kauṭilya a pacifist because in one passage he says: When the advantages of peace and war are alike, a king should conclude peace, as there is always loss and risk in war. But this rule is only the introduction to a chapter in which the principle is explained in detail which is stated in the previous chapter as a general rule. 'He who is *weaker* than the other shall make *peace*, he who is *stronger* shall wage *war*," (parasmād dhīyamānaḥ saṃdadhīta, abhyuccīyamāno vigṛhṇīyāt).

Now it must be admitted that Kauṭilya, in the chapter on the education of princes and the duties of kings, lays great stress on restraint of senses (indriyavijaya), and on the king setting a good example to his subjects and having their welfare at heart. We have also seen that Kauṭilya strictly holds to the Brāhmaṇical laws of svadharma. But all this only means that he acknowledges morality (dharma) but not that he wants it to be applied in politics. It is also always tacitly assumed that the vijigīṣu 'he who wants to conquer' is the righteous king.

You know that in our days also the conqueror or the victorious party in war is always the righteous. And just as Kauṭilya occasionally pays his respects to morality, you will find in all proclamations of the great political leaders of our days that the most abominable things are always done in the name of justice, humanity and civilisation.

But let us return now to the question of the date and authorship of the work. From what I have said it will be clear that I cannot believe, that we have in the Arthaśāstra really the work of the minister of the Maurya Candragupta of the 4th century B.C. before us. This is also unlikely because Candragupta was the ruler of a great Empire while the political doctrines of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra only refers to a number of small states. In my opinion the work has been ascribed to him only, because the legendary Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya was the best known type of the cunning and unscrupulous minister who occurs so frequently both in the dramatic and narrative literature. For the same reason we find so many collections of Nīti maxims, which are ascribed to Cāṇakya and known as Cāṇakyanīti, Cāṇakyarājanīti, Cāṇakyaśataka and similar titles.

Yet I do not mean to say, that the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra is a modern work. It was certainly known to the author of the Tantrākhyāyikā, the oldest version of the Pañcatantra, which was probably composed sometime between 300 and 500 A.D. It was known to Vātsyāyana Pakṣilasvāmin, the author of the Nyāyabhāṣya, it was the model after which Vātsyāyana Mallanāga formed his Kāmasūtra, and Daṇḍin in his Daśakumāracarita shows great familiarity with the book. The author of the Nyāyabhāṣya probably wrote about 350 or 400 A. D. Haranchandra Chakladar has tried to prove that the Kāmasūtra was composed between 225 A.D. and the beginning of the 4th century. I am rather inclined to place it in the 4th century. The Arthaśāstra may be a century or half a century older, and thus belong to the 3rd century A. D. It is worth mentioning that Kauṭilya is not referred to even in the latest parts of the Mahābhārata where only Bṛhaspati and Śukra appear as Nīti teachers.

But though it may be a disappointment, that we do not possess in the Arthaśāstra the original work of Candrgupta's famous minister of the 4th century B. C., we have to be thankful to possess such a unique work of the early centuries of our era. And whatever may be the age of the work, Indology owes a great debt of gratitude to R. Shama Sastri who has first made the work accessible to scholars.[1]

M. WINTERNITZ

---

[1] Readership Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on 17th September, 1923.

VERSI VERSI

MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT IN BENGAL

The problem of Middle Class Unemployment has been much agitating the public mind of Bengal for some long time past. The seriousness of the problem cannot indeed be over-emphasised and the extent of its evils gainsaid. This is probably why our newspapers and public men suggested all sorts of remedies or palliatives, and the Government, urged by the Bengal Council, appointed a committee to investigate the problem. The prevalent opinion seems to be that the growing unemployment among our middle classes is the outcome of an unbalanced educational system fondled by our university. This, however, is a superficial and an imperfect, if not an erroneous, view of the matter. It is necessary to realise that this unemployment is not an economic effect of any set of economic or non-economic causes, but is the outcome of a complex interaction of various social, economic and even political conditions together with religious peculiarities and natural temperament of the people.

From time immemorial the upper classes or the higher castes of the Hindus have been unused to any other occupations than public service, priesthood, or professions of the liberal arts and letters. At any rate long before the British adventurers laid the foundation of Indian empire in Bengal and long before the university of Calcutta was established or began to dump the service markets of Bengal with its annual output of fourteen thousand matriculates, these higher classes had ceased to pursue any form of agricultural, industrial or commercial occupations involving manual labour, which was despised as too vulgar and too degrading to befit the dignity of their higher birth. Agriculturists were looked down upon as " chāsās" and traders as " banias." Money-lending was too shocking to their moral and religious susceptibilities and liquor-traders were an outcast. How could the Hindus touch the cow-hides, far less cure or tan them ? The recollection of such facts as these are sufficient to show that our educational system at least is not responsible for the narrow range of our occupations or our aversion to manual work.

It is necessary to remember that no poor nation can afford to support a considerable section of its population by liberal professions and to remunerate it handsomely. The liberal professions invariably are poorly paid in countries where the number of persons, who possess a competency for the satisfaction of primary wants, is limited. This is a truism and economists recognise it as an immediate corollary deduced from Jennings's law of genetic succession of wants. Everyone is disposed to satisfy his stomach before he thinks of satisfying his senses or his mind. To live is a necessity prior to our capacity to enjoy. Self-preservation must precede self-assertion or self-realisation higher or lower. Intellectual, or spiritual longings are but secondary wants compared to our primary physical or physiological needs. The liberal professions are therefore little appreciated in a country where the greater part of its population has to be satisfied with a precarious existence. Most people here are yet to be conscious of their higher needs. And even among those who feel them, there are many whose poverty stands in the way of their satisfaction. Thus the effective demand for these liberal services must be low in a country struggling with poverty. If, on the other hand, there exists in such a country a growing section of the people, whose perennial and traditional source of livelihood is the pursuit of these particular occupations and who would support themselves by no other means, the economic effect is a glut of these services compared to demand, with unemployment and low remuneration as its inevitable consequences.

The middle classes in Bengal to-day consist of Brahmans, Kayasthas and Vaidyas, together with a growing section of other castes as well as Mahomedans, whom University education has equipped with qualifications necessary for the so-called liberal professions, and, thus equipped, who have exchanged their ancestral occupations for these "Vadralog" or "Genteel" services. Of these, Brahmans, Kayasthas and Vaidyas, it will be remembered, have been all attached for centuries to a literary type of education, though out of different motives—the Brahman to read and teach sastras or to carry on his privileged duties as priests or spiritual guides, or to help in the higher administration of the state; the Kayastha to do the clerical services of his political ruler or of society at large; and the Vaidya to pursue his profession of healing. Their attachment to literary education seems therefore to be hereditary and traditional. But other castes as well as Mahomedans began to swell their ranks with the consolidation of British rule in India; they were gradually lured to these liberal pursuits, mainly by the prospects of political prestige and social esteem associated with them. English education removed the technical barrier that obstructed their entrance thereto and they began to break away from their hereditary pursuits, as soon as the impact of western civilisation sufficiently undermined the rigidity of our social customs. The middle class attachment to literary education is thus the outcome, in the ultimate analysis, of their preference (hereditary or acquired) for "Genteel" occupations rather than the result of an one-sided university education. We flock to the University because it helps us to enter our favourite career. We are eager for university degrees because they are a passport to our fashionable pursuits. In other words, our literary education is not responsible for creating a mentality which urges us towards liberal professions. Our hankering for service has, on the contrary, created in some sections a slavish passion for university learning. This fact has to be particularly remembered in seeking a right solution for unemployment. That our educational system needs reformation is admitted on all hands. That our literary education needs be supplemented with technological instruction is a legitimate demand based on sound reasoning. But this is another matter ; it is due to new needs and changed circumstances ; university education is no *raison d'etre* for unemployment.

According to the census of 1921, there are roughly 13 lakhs of Brahmans, 13 lakhs of Kayasthas and one lakh of Vaidyas in Bengal. These classes claim to be supported as in the past by so-called liberal professions or preferably by public services. Even the destruction of our universities will not destroy their innate preference of service to profession or of profession to commerce or trade. You can sooner change your educational system than change their mentality. These 27 lakhs, in whatever way you may reform your universities, will tenaciously persist in their beaten paths.

A check to higher education may only retard the future rush of other castes or communities, but it cannot remedy unemployment. The number of middle class persons that are being supported to-day by liberal professions and in the administrative services and by transport industries (including Post-office, Telegraph and Telephone as well as Railway and Road transport) is roughly 11 lakhs. It may be said that the obvious remedy is to make additional provision not only for the support of 16 lakhs more of these Brahman-Kayastha-Vaidyas, but also of the dependants of about 3 lakhs educated youths belonging to other sections, who have imbibed a similarly strong fascination for the services.

But this is clearly impossible in the present poor state of our country. The possibility of any successful attempt in this direction, even if desirable, can only arise with the birth of a new prosperity in Bengal. The real remedy to-day therefore lies in inducing the people to change their mentality which prefers to 'serve' rather than 'produce.' The *Vadralog* classes must realise that their continued and persistent attachment to literary professions and services will only lead them to gradual impoverishment and decay. With increasing poverty they are fast losing those qualities which attracted respect and admiration for their classes. It is a delusion to take pride in their past or lament over its fall. Newer activities must be sought and both muscles and brains need to be vigorously worked for increasing their country's wealth. It must be remembered that this country is poor not only in the sense that a majority of its people is unable to live according to a decent standard of living, but in another and more serious sense, namely, that its people are unable to procure food and cloth in quantities essential for their bare existence. Whatever therefore we, the babu classes, eat or drink, wear or waste or display, we do it at the expense of the poorer masses. We draw our requirements ultimately from them. No doubt this is done by exchange. But this exchange is rather forced than voluntary and it is an exchange of "services" for "concrete wealth." The burden of our support is exclusively borne by them. If society is compared to a tree, our 'classes' will be found to form none of its vital parts. 'Classes' are not certainly its leaves and roots, which feed and nourish the tree, nor do they constitute its trunk which circulates the invigorating sap drawn by its roots. They are only its ornamental creepers which maintain their parasitic existence on the sap supplied by its roots—the masses. 'Classes' therefore have no place in the *social economy* of the country. Their natural tendency to expand coupled with their habitual tendency to live an ornamental and parasitic life is thus a force for evil, that is bound to operate towards accelerating poverty. The middle classes have to realise that their individual interests as well as the wider interests of the nation require that they should play an active and productive part in the economy of our social life.

All this, however, is easier said than done. The middle classes have already begun to feel their real position. Hunger has forced them to change their social outlook on industries. They have been eagerly seeking newer means of subsistence, but they have not yet discovered the right way. How to assist the educated classes to take an increased share in productive enterprises is really the problem of the day. Some changes that have already come upon the country will help in its solution. One is that respectability to-day has ceased to be associated with birth and is now measured in units of wealth. Superior castes are therefore unable to keep up their superiority unless they command wealth. The second change is the substitution of competitive examination for nomination in recruiting government servants. Every B. A. need not now look forward to be a Deputy nor every B. L., a Munsiff. The third change is the growing dislike of employers for graduate clerks and subordinates. There is still many a handicap that discourages an educated youth from attempting a business career. He has no capital, no technical knowledge and no business experience. His hard-earned university degree and his literary acquirements do not stand him in good stead. Consequently he hesitates. He has to get a new training and to acquire a new knowledge by a risky schooling in actual business, where failure may mean ruin of his career. Such a training requires time, and overburdened as he is most often with a family, he cannot afford to wait and spend further money for earning a livelihood. The urgency of his wants together with the uncertainty of business earnings in general constitute his main obstacle to the new career. Insufficiency of capital may be remedied by co-operative credit; technical inefficiency and business ignorance by technical training and business apprenticeship; and inability to wait for earnings, by an earlier entrance to a business career and a later marriage. An additional handicap of an educated man to-day is his preference for towns to villages, where he may enjoy a greater real income with comparatively less struggle. His dislike for villages is mostly due to want of an enlightened society, malaria, rural jealousy and litigation, and sometimes police oppression. As these are mostly due to the migration of educated gentry from villages to towns in search of employment, the remedy lies in creating suitable vocations for them in villages themselves.

The establishment of agricultural colonies by educated youths is being advocated in certain quarters as a first-rate remedy for unemployment and is receiving influential support. The remedial value of this measure, influential support notwithstanding, appears to be illusory and the precise process by which it will achieve the end is not very clear. Is it by the exaltation of agriculture to a middle class profession? Or is the measure intended only as an educative propaganda for demonstrating the utility and potency of scientific agriculture? Or is the measure only meant as an additional outlet for the provision of some distressed youths who know not how to eke out a living?

It requires no great power to foresee that educated youths, as far as they can be induced to part with their ancestral homes, dear associates and an enlightened environment, will be attracted to a colony so long as it will offer them scope for a profitable *farming* with the help of an imported labour force, which will naturally have no interest either in produce or in land. The scope of such isolated settlements is obviously limited in Bengal and they can offer employment only to a comparatively small number of youths. The scheme, however, will prove a success, as far as its purpose is to provide employment to a few adventurous youths; it can therefore at best be considered a very mild palliative. Introduction of scientific agriculture may, no doubt, open up an immense possibility for agricultural improvement in Bengal, provided it is imitated *en masse* by professional cultivators. But imitative adoption must presuppose a publicity, which can only be ensured by the demonstration of scientific farming at the very door of peasants' dwellings, and not by confining in a locality at a distance from them. As an instrument for educative propaganda these colonies are, therefore useless. As a remedy for unemployment, the measure is evidently *a propos de rien*. The wholesale adoption of agriculture as a popular middle class profession will, no doubt, remove unemployment. But under present conditions this will be found impracticable. And what is more important is to remember that this change, even if it were practicable, would from a national standpoint be extremely undesirable. *Farming* by middle classes involves this serious implication, *viz.*, that cultivators are to surrender their permanent interests in land and earn their living in their own holdings as labourers. Economically this is tantamount to the replacement of peasantry by a huge mass of landless proletariat. The change would be revolutionary, fraught with disastrous economic consequences to the country.

This leads us to the only alternative, *viz.*, that middle classes should now turn to industry and adopt it as their principal occupation. Obstacles to a change in this condition are many, but these must be overcome. Our industrial regeneration will not only cure unemployment but national poverty as well. The intelligence of Bengal need not be exploited for work in a government department or in a merchant's office. The country invites it to accept her industrial leadership. The Bengali intelligence ought not to be prostituted in devising non-economic means for private economic ends. It should be utilised for devising efficient industrial processes. As long as the *classes* persist in running towards services, the interests of the classes will clash with those of the masses, and the former will continue to deceive and exploit the latter. But as soon as the classes will take to industries requiring scientific training and intelligent enterprise, the interests of both will begin to harmonize.

Let us examine in what directions the industrial energy of the educated young can be most advantageously employed.

Bengal exports annually raw jute worth 14 crores, raw cotton worth 4 crores, seeds worth 3 crores, and hides and skins (raw) worth 4 crores. Can these be industrially utilized with profit? Is it possible to set up seed-crushing plants, preferably in rural areas, with an expenditure not too heavy for the ordinary middle-class youths to supply? Sugar was imported last year to the value of nearly 12 crores (in Bengal). The chief impediments to the growth of a sugar-refining industry, according to the Indian sugar committee, are the poor yield of the crop, the small area of holdings, the heavy cost of a modern sugar plant and competition from Java. Of course, it will require some years to improve the quality of the crop. But inasmuch as one-fourth of India's sugar consumption is imported, there is no reason why a successful attempt cannot immediately be made to introduce power-driven mills for extracting juice, which "can certainly increase the yield by ten per cent." according to the Indian Industrial Commission. Machinery and mill-work imports amount to about 15 crores, of which machinery for oil crushing and refining, rice and flour mill, sugar and tea is responsible for one crore of rupees. An investigation is necessary as to what are the obstacles in the way of establishing plants for the construction of some simpler kinds of those machineries. Electrical instruments and apparatus including fans are imported to the value of nearly 2 crores of rupees. Educated youths will certainly welcome opportunities for training in these lines. Manufacturing buttons and industrial utilisation of horns and horn-meal that are exported appear to be industries of easier manipulation. These are obviously the suggestions of theoretical common sense, of little value perhaps to anybody who wants practical guidance. Advice and guidance to educated youths who want to embark on an industrial career should be systematically provided by a competent body of industrial experts. The industrial possibilities of Bengal require special examination by a body of experts from the view-point of their probable establishment and development mainly through middle class initiative and enterprise. And this is pre-eminently the function of the Industries Department.

Attention is invited of the influential people of all parties —Constitutionalists, Independents, Swarajists or N. C. O.'s— to the need of the hour and they are requested to give a lead in this direction. Expert advice is necessary as to what are the industries that can be usefully set up by educated youths with comparatively small capital. How can they be best encouraged and assisted in these selected industries ? What technical or commercial training is it possible to provide for those who are already engaged in an industry or who are about to do so, but who cannot afford to receive instruction either in usual school-hours or in the usual school-way ? What small home industries can be established in rural areas ? The solution of this last problem will have important effects : it will check the increasing exodus of educated young men from villages to towns and will thus prevent the growing deterioration of villages ; it will find employment for landless labourers in the locality ; it will familiarise the agricultural population with industries and industrial processes, and this may lead to the introduction of cheap machinery and power-plant for lessening the cost of various agricultural operations. Publicity should be given through newspapers and other agencies as to the variety of easily developable industries, their suitable location, the necessary equipment, the initial cost, working expenses and so on. This would be a right step towards the solution of middle class unemployment. This would also be a right step towards the solution of the problem of national poverty.

And whatever may be our political creed, we may remember one thing : that starvation breaks one's backbone and whoever lacks a backbone can never be free.

PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

THE UNIVERSITY OF NALANDA[1]

The site of this widely known University of ancient India[2] which fulfilled the dictum of Carlyle that a true University is a collection of books as well as that of Newman as it was a school of universal learning implying the assemblage of strangers from all parts in one spot, the alma mater of a host of distinguished logicians, grammarians and philosophers, " the rendezvous of religious controversialists, the never-failing fountain-head from which Tibet and China imbibed a good deal of their learning and civilization, is indicated by the melancholy tanks " and is a long line of lofty mounds extending north and south for some 3,000 feet at Bargaon[3] at present "a desolate, dust-covered hamlet, about eight miles from Rajgir." The place can be reached by the Bihar-Bakhtiarpur Light Railway Station Bargaon, from which the ruins of the famous monastery can be seen and from which it is only one mile off. Scholars all over the world and we the people of Bihar are particularly grateful to the learned Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for having made possible the excavation of this ancient and interesting site[1] and we have no doubt that further traces of the big and impressive buildings described by the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang will be discovered by the generosity of the Society. General Cunningham, the father of Indian Archæology, who first truly identified the site was quite correct when he observed that it possessed finer and more numerous specimens of sculpture than any other places he had visited. And considering the very large number of places which he had visited, many of which he had himself excavated, this may be considered as high testimony.[2] Apart from the sculptures, some of which are now available, we may also refer to the fine description of Hiuen Tsiang who says, "The richly adorned towers and the fairylike turrets, like pointed hill tops are congregated together. The observations seem to be lost in the vapours of the morning and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and the moon may be observed. How the deep translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the *Kaṇaka* flower of deep red colour and at intervals the *Āmra* groves spread over all their shade. All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers are of four stages. The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves, the pearred pillars, carved and ornamented, richly adorned balustrades and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene."[3] Besides the tanks, all that now remains of its splendid buildings, its spacious hall and dreaming spires, its long-extending corridors and splendid libraries, its incense-streaming temples and adjoining grounds is a heap of mounds which are now yielding a bumper harvest to the archæologists. In the words of one who has done so much to bring to the notice of the world the glorious sculptures and art of Magadha but who has also done so much to injure it, "when the caves and temples of Rajgir were abandoned to ravages of decay and when the followers of Tathagata forsook the mountain dwellings of their great teacher, the monastery of Nalanda arose in all its splendour on the banks of the lakes of Bargaon; successive monarchs vied in its establishment; lofty pagodas were raised in all direction, halls of disputation and schools of instruction were built between them, shrines, temples and topes were constructed on the side of every tank and encircled the base of every tower and around the whole mass of religious edifices were grouped the "four-storied dwellings of the preachers and teachers of Buddhism."[1] And recent excavations have shewn how the buildings were made of bricks of a most superior quality and admirable texture—fitted together so perfectly that in some places the joints between the bricks are altogether inconspicuous."[2] In the words of Dr. Spooner, "as brickwork the construction is remarkable, far superior to any modern work that I have seen in recent years."[3] This testimony of an archæologist of the position and experience of Dr. Spooner carries its weight in gold.

---

[1] A Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Patna University and presided over by Mr. S. Sultan Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor.

[2] Besides the Nalanda, Vikramsila and Odantapuri Universities of Magadha, we had in ancient India the University of Taxila in the Punjab the seat of a more or less Brahmanical Institution, the University of Sri Dhanya kataka on the bank of the Krishna, a seat of both Brahmanical and Buddhistic learning. Rai Bahadur Saratchandra Das relying on Tibetan accounts was of opinion that the great monastery of Dapung in Tibet containing nearly 8,000 monks and a University with six Colleges, was built after the model of the above Sri Dhanya kataka. *Vide Hindustan Review*, 1906.

[3] Dr. Bloch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 440, observes, "It is perhaps not generally known that the modern name of the site of Nalanda is Bargar, not Bargaon. I have had many occasions of hearing the name pronounced Bargar during my prolonged stay at Rajgir.........Likewise I have no doubt that the modern name has been derived from a sacred bar tree (Sanskrit Vata, *Ficus religiosa*) which has grown over one of the ruined brick buildings of ancient Nalanda."

---

[1] Dr. Spooner very aptly observed, "The Royal Asiatic Society's offer was peculiarly welcome to all concerned, the more so since they very generously offered to present the Province with whatever might be found and the Local Government was good enough, despite the War, to provide funds for the necessary acquisition of the land." *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1915-1916, p. 34.

[2] "It is certainly a fact that a considerable portion of the finest sculptures in the Calcutta Museum originated from this very site." *Ibid*, p. 34.

[3] *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 111.

Short History and Description of the Buildings.

The year 450 is the earliest limit to which roughly can be assigned the royal recognition of Nalanda, though its early tradition betrays a more or less mythical character. Taranath would trace it to Asoka. He observes : "Here in Nalanda, was in former times the birthplace of the Venerable Sariputta and it is also the place where he with 80,000 *arhats* attained Nirvana. In the course of time, only the Chaitya of the Venerable Sariputta remained at which King Asoka gave great offerings to the Gods and to which he erected a great Buddhist temple... In this way the first founder of the Nalanda Vihar is Asoka." [1] But judging from the fact that there is no mention of it by Fahien, it would be very hard to accept this version of the Tibetan historian regarding the foundation of the University, though presumably, the importance of the place reaches back to remote ages.

---

[1] Broadely: *Nalanda Monasteries at Bargaon Sub-division Bihar, Zilla Patna.*

[2] *Archæological Survey Reports*, Eastern Circle, 1915-16.

[3] *Ibid. Ibid.* Dr. Spooner has observed that, "It can now be demonstrated that upon this one spot four separate and successive monasteries have been erected through a series of centuries, each being erected over the ruins, of the previous one and the second in date enveloping the oldest." *Ibid*, 1916-17, p. 2.

According to Hiuen Tsiang, "not long after the Nirvana of Buddha [2] a former [3] King of this country, named Sakraditya built this Saṃghārāma. His son and successor Buddhaguptarājā not only continued but added to it, while his son Tathāgatarāja followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather. His successor Bālādityaraja added to the establishment and his son Vajra also continued the pious object. Then a king of Central India emulated the example of these pious kings by not only adding a new Saṃghārāma but built round these edifices a high wall with one gate, which afterwards figured so prominently, being protected by the *Dvara Pandita.* Then followed a long succession of kings who continued the work of building using all the skill of the sculptor till the whole became truly marvellous to behold.

Not only was it, therefore, truly marvellous to behold, but its prosperity continued and I-Tsing who studied here for ten long years found it in a prosperous condition. Its name and fame continued and in 750 the Tibetan king sent emissaries to Nalanda to invite its High Priest Kamalasila [1] to confute heresies in his dominion and to bring about a renaissance of Buddhism. After this its decadence commenced, very likely owing to the rise of the rival royal University of Vikramsila which became the premier educational establishment in Northern India. But as we read in the accounts relating to Vikramsila, there was for some time an intercourse between the two universities. And we have it also on record that the Tibetan monk who was sent by the Tibetan king to take Asita to Tibet from Vikramsila stayed on his way at Nalanda. And though Hiuen Tsiang mentioned a legend that Nalanda was to be the model for a period of a thousand years [3] we may say that it did not retain its glory for so long a period.

---

[1] Taranath. In one of the sculptures at Nalanda, there are inscribed *Arya Sariputta* and *Arya Maudgaluyan.* (Vide *A-S.R.*)

[2] *Records of Western Countries*, II, 168. In *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, "After the Nirvana of Buddha," p. 40.

[3] In the *Life*, we have "an old king."

Mahamahopadhaya Haraprasad Sastri is of opinion that even during the tenth and eleventh centuries Nalanda was a powerful rival to Vikramsila, and Nalanda not only flourished but maintained its high position.[4] He supports this, by mentioning that a manuscript copied at Nalanda in the sixth year of Mahipal's reign [5] is to be found in the Library of the Asiatic Society. We shall shortly refer to the various references to Nalanda but we do not think we would be justified in coming to the conclusion that even with the addition of some more references added to the learned scholar's one, Nalanda was in a very flourishing condition. According to Dr. Kielhorn, Nalanda's glories vanished from the latter half of the 9th century, as he calculated on palæographic grounds from the Ghosrawan inscription[6] discovered by

---

[1] Kamalasila flourished sometime between A.D. 728-776 and was a contemporary of Santa Raksita who also went to Tibet. Kamalasila specialised in Tantra.

[3] Beal: *Records of Western Countries*, II, p. 170.

[4] *Rāmacharita*, p. 12.

[5] *Vide* Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 101.

[6] *Vide J. A. S. B.*, VII, Part I, 492-501, also Vol. XII-268-274; *cf.* also *Indian Antiquary*, XVII, 307-312.

Captain Kittoe in 1848 in the village of Ghosrawan, seven miles south-east of Bihar. This inscription, which I will refer to later on, was inscribed in the reign of Devapala, and refers to the installation of a priest named Biradeva as the superior priest at Nalanda. Two causes must have contributed to its decay—its buildings must have become old and ruinous, owing to the course of ages and secondly it must have been thrown into the shade by the growing splendours of the rival University of Vikramsila to which the attention of the kings was directed and which necessarily led to the withdrawal of royal patronage. The result was that the most remarkable *Saṃghārāma* languished. It did continue to exist even after the invasion of the Mohammedans, by whom it was destroyed along with the other universities—for the *Pagsam Jung* says that after the Mohammedan invasion the temples and chaityas were repaired by a sage named Mudita Bhadra.[1] Soon after this one Kukkutasidha, a minister of some king of Magadha, erected a temple at Nalanda and while a religious sermon was being delivered there, two very indigent Tirthika mendicants appeared. Some naughty young novice-monks in disdain threw washing water on them. This made the mendicants very angry. After propitiating the sun for twelve years they performed a fire-sacrifice and threw living embers and ash from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples. This destroyed not only the fine library but the buildings also finally. That the buildings were destroyed by fire is evidenced, by the Bālāditya inscription,[2] which we will also refer to later on.

Mention of Nalanda.

Whatever may be the exact date of the establishment of the University of Nalanda, the place was an important one even in the days of the great Buddha. He stayed for some time at Nalanda where he went with a great company of the Brethren and stopped at the Pavarika Mango grove. He was met here by the venerable Sāriputta and solved that disciple's difficulties. Here also he had that comprehensive religious talks with the *Saṃgha* on the nature of upright conduct, of earnest contemplation and of intelligence.[1] One of Nalanda's villagers named Lepa has been described as prosperous, famous, rich in high and large houses, beds, seats, vehicles, and chariots, abounding in riches, gold and silver, possessed of useful and necessary things, owning many male and female slaves, cows, buffaloes, and sheep. Buddha spent some time in one of the bathing halls of this rich Lepa where Udaka came, heard a long discourse from him and was converted. From Nalanda the great teacher went to Pataliputra which was evidently inferior to the former in the eyes of Ānanda who did not consider Pataliputra to be a fit place for Buddha's Nirvana, while Nalanda was considered fit. That would evidently show that so far as importance went Nalanda was superior to Pataliputra and it may be, therefore, taken for granted that Nalanda was also older than Pataliputra. The *Kalpasūtra* mentions that the other great religious leader and teacher, Mahāvira also spent sometime here. In the *Sūtrakṛitanga,* Nalanda is described as containing many hundreds of buildings, though it was then only a suburb of Rajagriha.

---

[1] *Indian Logic—Mediæval School,* p. 147.

[2] *Archæological Survey Report,* III, 122. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, IV, 105.

In the *Digha Nikaya* we find mentioned the name of the village Nalanda, near Rajagriha with a Pavarika Mango Park and Amra seems to have been the name of the original owner of the site of the Nalanda establishment. Here we find that a young householder tried to induce Tathagata to an exhibition of miraculous powers saying "This Nalanda of ours, Sir, is influential and prosperous, full of folk crowded with people devoted to the blessed one. It were well, if the exalted one were to give command to some brother to perform by powers surpassing that of an ordinary man, a mystic wonder." Needless to say, the great Tathagata delivered himself against the use of miraculous powers. There is also mentioned a Rest House called *Āmrabātīka* where Buddha spent a night.

---

[1] Mahaparinibbana-Sutta.

Coming to the Chinese travellers, Fa-hien does not mention Nalanda.[1] He mentions the name of a village called Nalo which some archæologists have tried to identify as Nalanda, but this identification has not and cannot be accepted. We are sure that if Nalanda was at the time of the visit of Fa-hien worth visiting, he would not have left it undescribed.[2] That evidently shows that the Saṃghārāma did not exist then or at any rate had not acquired any celebrity whatever to attract the foreign seeker after truth. It is Hiuen Tsiang who has given us a full description of the Nalanda establishment and university " where students of all India came together from the distance of 10,000 li," [3] where the " priests or strangers always reach to the number of 10,000,"[4] its monasteries and their builders, the teachers and the taught. " The priests to the number of several thousands, are men of the highest ability and talent." [5] That prince of travellers continues: " Their distinction is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblamable. They follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. The rules of this convent are severe and all the priests are bound to observe them. The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering questions." [6] Such was the value of the hall-mark of the University that we find that persons wanted to usurp the name of the Nalanda students, to receive honour in consequence. Such was the standard that those desirous of entering and taking part in the discussion had first to engage with the *Dvar Pandita* (the keeper at the gate), who proposed such hard questions that "those who fail compared with those who succeeded are as seven or eight to ten." And even the two or three who succeeded in defeating the gate keeper were invariably humbled in the assembly. Evidently that showed the high standard of the alumni of the Nalanda University which concerned itself with what we would call higher teaching, the examination at the gate being the Matriculation of the Scholars, to enable them to enter the portals of the University.

---

[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, 1861-62.

[2] See *Travels* of Fa-hien.

[3] Beal, Vol. II, 169.

[4] *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 112.

[5] *Records of Western Countries*, Vol. II, 170.

[6] *Ibid.*

The fine description of Hiuen Tsiang has been well-supplemented by I-Tsing who has given us fullest details in his *Buddhist Practices in India*, of the curriculum of studies and the method of observances of religious rites at Nalanda. This scholar started from China in 671 and arrived at Tamralipti, the modern Tamluk in 673. He studied at Nalanda for a considerable time and collected some four hundred Sanskrit Texts, amounting to 500,000 slokas. During his time there were eight halls and three hundred apartments.

Nalanda is also mentioned in connection with the names of a number of Chinese travellers, who came to India with the object of studying at the famous University.

Two Tibetan traditions mention Nalanda, one before the days of Nāgārjuna of whom we shall speak later on and the other in connection with also that great scholar when one of his contemporaries, a Brāhmana, named Subisnu established one hundred and eight temples at Nalanda.

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 171.

[2] Dr. Takakusu's edition.

[3] *Ibid.*

We may here, as well, refer to various palæographic and other references in connection with Nalanda.

I. In the beginning of the eighth century A. D., two eminent Pandits from Magadha visited Tibet at the invitation of King Thisong-den-tsan and formally introduced the religion of Buddha there. Śānta Rakshita who was at that time the High Priest of the monastery of Nalanda was invited by the Tibetan king. He was received by the Tibetans with all the honours due to his high position as the spiritual teacher of the king of Magadha and was given the title of Ācharya Bodhisatwa. He was appointed as the High Priest of Tibet and under his direction was, for the first time, introduced the system of Buddhist monachism which is now known as Lamaism in Tibet. At this time a Chinese missionary named Hosang Mahāyāna visited Tibet and as Hosang was superior to Santa, the king sent for the Buddhist philosopher Kamala Sīla of Magadha who visited Tibet, defeated Hoshanga in the presence of the assembled court and was placed at the head of the metaphysical branch of the Buddhist church in Tibet.[1]

II. In the reign of Devapala, of the Pala dynasty, Nalanda was visited by Vīradeva, an inhabitant of Nagarhara and Devapala made him the high priest.[2]

III. Pandit Hirananda Sastri who was for some time in charge of the Nalanda excavations [3] discovered a record inscribed on both sides of a large copper plate surmounted by a seal soldered to its top, bearing an emblem, the

---

[1] S. C. Dass, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow.*

[2] There is a short of "post-script" in this, "which glorifies the ambassador Bala-Varma and his liege lord Sri Balaputradeva, the king of Suvarnadvipa." Pt. Hirananda Sastri wanted to identify the Suvarnadvipa with the modern Sumatra. *The Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* backed this identification by the fact that Balaputradeva is described as the grandson of the king of *Yubabhumi*, which is evidently Java.—*A. S. R., 1920-21, p. 27.*

[3] *Vide* the Devapala inscription. *Asiatic Researches and Indian Antiquary*, XXI. This inscription of Devapala being a grant from Monghyr was discovered in 1780. For many of these inscriptions গৌড়লেখমাল is invaluable.

Dharmachakra, flanked by two gazelles which is the insignia of Nalanda. It had suffered in the fire which destroyed the building. The seal bears the legend Sri-Devapala Devaysa, *i.e.*, of the Devapaladeva who, as we have already noted, was the third sovereign of the Pala dynasty. This record tells us of the grant of certain villages in the Rajgriha and Gaya districts of the Srinagara, identified with Pataliputra[1] division, for the upkeep of the monastery at Nalanda and the comfort of Bhiksus coming there from the four quarters, for medical aid, for the writing of *Dharma ratnas*, or religious books[2] for similar purposes.[3]

IV. In 1862 Cunningham brought to the notice of the public the existence of an inscription at the foot of a sculpture, Vāgīswarī at Nalanda. As it is inscribed on the idol Vāgīswarī, it is known as the Vagīswari inscription. It was discovered by Buchanan Hamilton and it figures in Martin's *Eastern India*.[4] The inscription records the name of *Parama-bhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*—Sri Gopal who did something (which is not on record) at Nalanda.[5]

V. In the fifth regnal year of Mahipala was copied at Nalanda *Asta Sāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā* which is now preserved in the library at Cambridge.[6]

---

[1] *J. A. S. R.* XVIII. 492-50;
XIII. 268-274;
J. A., XII 307-274.

"In this inscription occurs নালন্দা পরিপালনায়. Dr. Hultzsch referring to this says Satyabadi may have been Viradeva's predecessor in Nalanda." Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitreya suggests that very likely it referred to the Bodhi tree. *Cf.* গৌড়লেখমালা, pp. 48-49.

[2] In those times scholars after finishing their student life devoted themselves to the study of their sacred books in monasteries, when copying the manuscripts was considered a part of their duty.

[3] According to Pandit Hirananda Sastri the epigraph of the grant shows that King Devapaladeva granted these villages and apparently built this monastery of Nalanda at the instance of the king of Sumatra.

[4] *Archæological Survey Report*, I. 1.

[5] 1. Plate XV.

[6] *Vide* গৌড়লেখমালা, pp. 86 and 87.

VI. In the sixth regnal year of the same sovereign was copied at Nalanda at the expense of Sthavira Sādhugupta of Tāribari-Mahāvihāra by Kalyānmitra Chintāmoni of Nalanda an *Astasāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā.*[1] The fine manuscript was discovered by Mahamahopadhaya Haraprasad Sastri in Nepal and is now preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Mahipala has been described as *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameswara Paramasaugata.*[2]

VII. In 1864 was discovered among the ruins at Nalanda by Captain Marshall[3] an inscription now known as the Bālāditya Inscription and which is now in the Calcutta Museum. In it we find a reference to the rebuilding of a temple after its destruction by fire.

VIII. In the reign of Nayapala who died in 1045, Dwīpankara Srījnāna was at the head of the Nalanda University and Srījnāna went to Tibet at the request of the king of Tibet.[4]

IX. In the fourth regnal year of Ramapala one Grahanakundu copied an *Astasāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā.* The writer, as it appears from the flyleaf, was then at Nalanda and Ramapala is described as *Mahārājādhirāj Parameswara Paramabhattāraka Paramasaugata.*[6]

X. In 1165 was copied *Astasāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā* at Nalanda which is now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.[7] From the *Puspika* (colophon) we find that Nalanda's king was then *Parameswara Paramabhattāraka Paramasaugata Mahārājādhirāja* Srimad

---

[1] Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts* in Cambridge, p. 101.

[2] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1899, p. 69.

[3] *A. S. R.*, III, 122, Journal and Proceedings, *A. S. B.*, IV (N. S.), 106.

[4] *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 51 ff.

[5] *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Cambridge, Vol. II, p. 250.

[6] *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, VIII, 1876, p. 3.

[7] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1916-17, p. 41.

Govindapala. The copy was made, as we learn from the same colophon, in Govindapala's fourth regnal year.

XI. The Royal Asiatic Society's excavations at Nalanda have also brought out a coin of Govinda Chandra.

XII. And lastly, I may be permitted to mention the discovery of seals "Sri Nalanda-Mahāvihāriya Ârya-Bhiksu-Samghasya" or Venerable Community of monks in the great Vihar of Sri Nalanda.[1]

XIII. An undated inscription has been discovered at Benares which Dr. Vogel thinks to be of the eighth or ninth century in which there is a reference to a pious gift at the glorious Nalanda.[2]

The name of the place.

Hiuen Tsiang to whom we are so much indebted for the description of Nalanda observes thus about the name of the place. "The old accounts of the country say that to the south of the Saṃghārāma in the middle of an *Āmra* grove, there is a tank. The Naga of this tank is called Nalanda. But the truth is, that Tathagata in old days practised the life of a Bodhisatwa here, became the king of a great country and established his capital in this land. Moved by pity for living things, he delighted in continually relieving them. In remembrance of this virtue, he was called 'charity without intermission'—Na-alam-da—and the Saṃghārāma was so called in perpetuation of his name."[3] According to the other Chinese traveller, I-Tsing, the name Nalanda was derived from the name of Naga Nanda.[1] General Cunningham to whom we all are so indebted, accepted this and observed that to the south of the monastery there was a tank in which there was a Naga[2] or dragon, Nalanda, and the place was named after him. In two inscriptions which he discovered there he found the name as Nalanda. No other theory has been suggested about the name.

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 43. The seals consist of the Wheel of Law flanked by two gazelles, recumbent with heads upraised, looking toward the Wheel. "This is the most interesting feature of these seals, because it shows that the venerable community of Monks at Sri Nalanda copied on their seal the insignia of the monastery at Sarnath." Why Nalanda should have copied it is not known.

[2] *Archæological Survey Reports*, 1903-4, p. 219. *Cf.* also Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, plate XIII 2.

[3] *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 167.

Building of the Saṃghārāṃa.

We have already observed that Fa-hien who came to India in or about 400 A. D. does not mention Nalanda. He speaks of the village of Nalo which some scholars[3] have identified with Nalanda. But this identification cannot hold good. As we have suggested before, very likely the University did not exist then, or at any rate had not attained any significance to draw the attention of the traveller. Early in the 7th century Hiuen Tsiang came to India, halted at Nalanda for the pretty long period of nineteen months to study. According to him, the site of Nalanda was originally a mango garden which was bought by five hundred merchants at a cost of ten *kotis* of gold pieces and given to Buddha to enable the merchants to obtain the fruit of holiness. There is, however, no reference to this and scholars have come to the conclusion that it must have been given to a Buddhist saint of a later age and not to the Buddha himself.[4]

Hiuen Tsiang further observes that after[5] the Nirvana of Buddha five kings named Sakraditya, Buddhagupta Tathagata

---

[1] Dr. Takakusu's edition.

[2] *A. S. R.*

[3] Fa-hien, Legge's edition, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1, LVIII.

[4] *Indian Logic: Mediæval School*, by MM. S. C. Vidyabhusan, p. 145.

[5] There is a slight difference here, which we have already noted, *viz.*, the *Records* says "Not long after the Nirvana of Buddha" while the *Life* says "After the Nirvana." *Vide* the Footnote on p. 112 of the *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* regarding the question of date.

Bālāditya and Vajra built five Saṃgharamas. A king of Central India,[1] whose name Hiuen Tsiang does not mention, established another magnificent monastery and he built round these edifices a high wall with one gate, probably the gate mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang himself, where the *Dvar Pandita* sat and tested the fitness of outsiders to join in the disputations. Then we know from the same authority, a fact which we have already referred to, that a succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor till it was marvellous to behold.

Bālāditya[2] the king of Magadha, who built one of the monasteries at Nalanda was a contemporary of the Hūn King Mihirakula.[3] Mihirakula began his reign in 515 and therefore his contemporary Bālāditya must have also lived about this time. Before Bālāditya three of his predecessors had also built monasteries. If we take 25 years as the average to each reign, Sakraditya can be said to have reigned about 450 A.D.[4] The date of the temple may be also, about 450.

General Cunningham came to this conclusion. He observes: "The great monastery itself can be readily traced by the square patches of cultivation amongst a long mass of brick ruins 1,600 feet by 400 feet. These open spaces show the position of the courtyards of the six smaller monasteries which are described by Hiuen Tsiang as being situated within one enclosure forming altogether eight courts. Five of the monasteries were built by five consecutive princes of the same family and the sixth by their successor called the king of Central India. No dates are given but from the total silence of Fa-hien regarding any of the magnificent buildings at Nalanda, which are so minutely described by Hiuen Tsiang, I infer that they must have been built after 410. Surely, if the lofty temple of King Baladitya which was 300 feet in height had then existed, it seems scarcely possible that Fa-hien should not have noticed it. I would, therefore, assign the probable date of the temple and monasteries of Nalanda to the two centuries between the visits of Fahien and Hiuen Tsiang or from A. D. 425 to 625."[1]

---

[1] A fine bronze (or copper ?) pillar has been discovered at Nalanda. With reference to this Dr. Spooner observes: "This pillar is unique in my experience. It stands over four feet in height. The lower half is plain, but the upper is fashioned into a sort of capital, showing the form of a recumbent elephant surmounted by a maned lion, upon whose head rest two horizontal discs capped by a lotus-bud. What Hsian Chuang tells us of one of the great monasteries here at Nalanda having been built by a king of "Central India" might tempt one to wonder whether there is any connection between his account and this representation of the emblem of the Gond Kings of the Central Provinces." *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India,* Eastern Circle, 1916-18, p. 42.

[2] Dr. Takakusu, the learned translator of I-Tsing's book, was of opinion that Bālāditya came to the throne in 481. *Vide Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1905. This opinion has not been generally accepted.

[3] *Vide* Watters, *Yuan Chuang,* I. 289.

[4] One of the Corean travellers says that the Nalanda temple was built by an old king named Sri Sakraditya for a Bhiksu of Northern India. After beginning it, the king was much obstructed, and his descendants finished it. It was made the most magnificent establishment in Jambudwīpa.

There is another point which can be considered fairly well in this connection. Hiuen Tsiang records that the great temple of Bālāditya was similar to that of the Bodhgaya temple. As similarity of style may be taken as denoting proximity of date the erection of Bālāditya's temple, may with great probability be assigned to the same century in which the Vajrāsana temple was built. The date of the Nalanda temple can therefore be between 450 and 550 A. D.

It may be here referred to that the views expressed by Dr. Cunningham about the date of the building of the Nalanda relying on the theory that the Nalanda temple was built quite approximately at the time when the Bodhgaya one was built, will naturally fall to the ground if we are to accept the view that the Vajrasana temple was built during the time of the Kushan dynasty. This theory has been supported by the discovery of a terracotta plaque by Dr. D. B. Spooner during his excavations at Pataliputra.[1] This plaque bears the illustration of a temple, which Dr. Spooner supposed to be that of the temple of Bodhgaya and it also contains some characters in Kharosthi and considering that the Kharosthi script was introduced into India in the second century A.D. it may be surmised that the temple was built during the Kushan time. That would place the building of the temple very early but consideration of other circumstances, specially the fact that Nalanda was not at all mentioned by Fa-hien, leads one to reject the theory and to accept Cunningham's one. *But no definite conclusion can be arrived at unless there are thorough excavations of the sites and until we see the actual plinth of the temple itself, it would be hazardous to come to a definite conclusion.*

---

[1] *A. S. R.*

Endowments to the University.

We have already referred to the rich endowments made to the University. Indeed successive kings vied with one another in this respect. When Hiuen Tsiang was there, he found that the king of the country respected and honoured the priests and the revenue of about one hundred villages was endowed on it. Two hundred householders of these villages, day by day, contributed several hundred piculs[2] of ordinary rice and seven hundred catties[3] in weight of milk and butter. Hence the students being so abundantly supplied did not require to beg for their requisites.[4] Hiuen Tsiang was given every day 120 jambiras, 20 pugas[5] and a peck of *Mahasali* rice.[6] Every month he was also presented with three measures of oil, a supply of butter and other things according to his needs.

---

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle*, 1913-14, pp. 71. *Cf.* also *the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Dr. Spooner's article on the same subject.

[2] 1 picul = 138. 1/8 lbs.

[3] 1 catty = 160 lbs.

[4] *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 113.

[5] Areca nuts.

[6] "The rice was as large as the black bean and when cooked was aromatic and shining like no other rice at all." *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 108.

The other traveller, I-Tsing referring to the endowments to the University observed that the lands in its possession contained more than two hundred villages, thus showing that from the time of the visit of Hiuen Tsiang to the visit of I-Tsing another hundred villages had been endowed on the University, testifying that it was in the highest pinnacle of its glory. These villages, as attested by the scholar, were bestowed upon the monastery by kings of many generations.[1] Evidently the result was the continuation of the prosperity of the University.

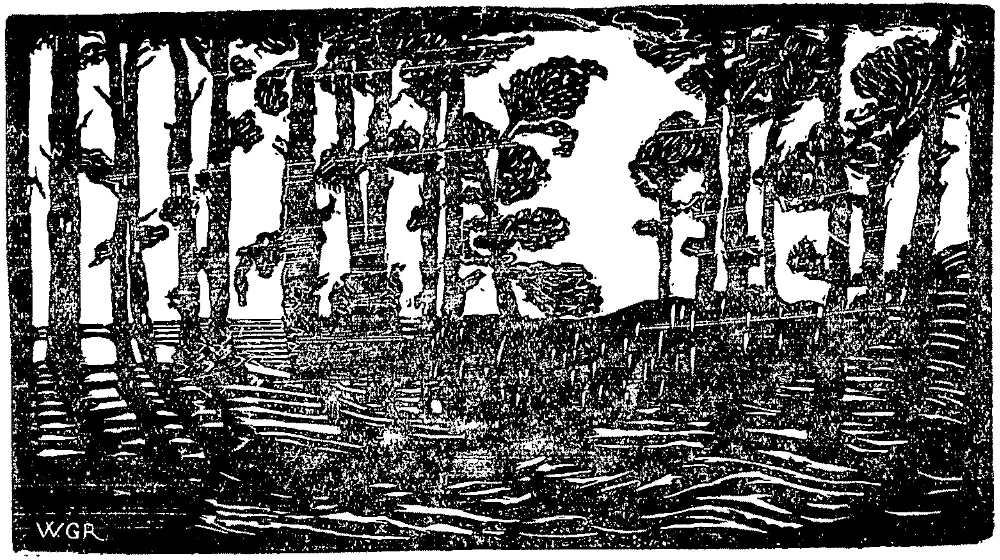
Teaching and Curriculum.

We have alreedy referred twice to the rigid test for admission into the University and we need not go into it again. But here also teaching was both tutorial and professorial and there was close touch between the professors and the students. The old idea of serving the teacher pervaded throughout the establishment, as we find in I-Tsing and the spirit of the Hindu times continued in these days also and existed in these Buddhistic establishments. That is to say, the relationship was mutual. After graduation the students proceeded to the king's court for appointment in the public services.[2] In Hiuen Tsiang's time ten thousand students studied the Great Vehicle and also the works belonging to the eighteen schools of Buddhism. But that was not all, for that would show that the teaching was only secular. It was not merely secular, for even ordinary works such as the Vedas and other books, Hetuvidya, Sabdavidya, Chikitsavidya (the science of healing), the works on Tantra (Magic) and the Saṃkhya were studied. In addition to all these we find that the students investigated

---

[1] Takakusu's edition, p. 65.

[2] *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 112.



EVENING SHADOWS

Wood Engraving by W. G. Raffé

"miscellaneous works," whatever they may mean. The result was that there was one thousand men who could explain the collection of Sūtras and Sāstras; five hundred could explain thirty collections and there were ten men, including the Master of the Law (we can take him to be the Vice-Chancellor, in our modern parlance), who could explain fifty collections. There were one hundred pulpits whence the teachers discoursed on their subjects. The prominent teachers then were Dharmapāla[1] who was the abbot for a long time and Chandrapāla, Gunamatī and Sthiramati, Prabhāmitra and Jinamitra, author of the *Mūla Sarvastibada Nikāya*, Jnānchandra and Sīlabhadra, the head of the establishment. He was a prince of Bengal but had renounced the world and he alone could explain the entire collection of Sūtras and Sastras. It was under him, this eminent, virtuous and aged logician and master of the Sastras that Hiuen Tsiang studied. Needless to say that in addition to all these, there were many more of high ability and talent, whose distinctions were very great and there were undoubtedly many hundreds whose fame spread through distant regions and thereby attracted students to the great University.

Of the scholars[2] mentioned by I-Tsing, *viz.*, Nāgārjuna, Deva, Asvaghosa, Vasu Vandu, Asanga, Dignaga, and Kamalasila who went to Tibet at the invitation of its king Sanghabhadra and others,[3] Nāgārjuna stands supreme. We have no authentic record of the life of this scholar, but for all practical purposes, the following, though more or less legendary, may be given.[4]

---

[1] Both Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing mention him, the former speaking of him as one of the great Bodhisatwas who rendered great service to Buddhism. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I.

[2] He mentions Nagarjuna first, then Deva and Asvaghosa. As a patriarch of the northern Buddhism, Asvaghosa has an earlier place than the rest, the former being the twelfth and the latter the fourteenth patriarch.

[3] *Cf.* page 181 of *A Record of Buddhist Practices* and the footnote on the same page by Dr. Takakusu.

[4] *Indian Antiquary*, July 1908. *Cf.* Also *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LI, pp. 115 ff.

A rich Brāhmaṇa of Vidarbha, to whom no son had been born for many years, once saw in a vision that if he gave alms to one hundred Brāhmaṇas, he would get a son. He did so accordingly and a son was born but the astrologers predicted that the child would not live for more than a week. They were, therefore, requested to find a remedy for averting such a calamity and they replied that his life could be prolonged for seven years only if the parents entertained one hundred Bhiksus. Of course this was done and the child lived on until the fatal seventh year began when his parents unwilling to see the painful end, caused him to be removed to a solitary place in company with a few retainers. As the boy was passing the last mournful days, one day the Mahabodhisattwa Avalokiteswara visited him in disguise and advised him to go to the great monastery of Nalanda as the surest means of escaping from the hands of death. The boy, accordingly repaired there and informed the head of the monastery of his impending danger. The latter, thereupon, advised him to enter the holy order of monks. This saved him from the clutches of death and he was ordained a Bhiksu and commenced his studies there. After a few years' service in the monastery, he obtained the subordinate office of Steward of the congregation. During the first part of the tenure of that office, Nāgārjuna propitiated the goddess Chandikā by whose agency he succeeded in providing the great body of the priests with the necessaries of life. He learnt many other mystic arts and by his religious practices he obtained the perfection of *Siddh*, *i. e.*, success. Even the Nāgas used to attend his sermons in the shape of young boys and they invited him to their abode in the land of the Nāgas where he spent three months. He was asked to settle permanently there, but he declined on the ground of his being required to preach the sacred religions in Jambudwīpa. He returned to Nalanda with costly presents and also with a religious book called *Nāga Sahasrika.* It was for this connection with the Nagas that he obtained the name of Nāgārjuna. He afterwards visited many holy places and then returned to his own country where he erected many chaityas and composed many works on Science, Medicine, Astronomy and Alchemy. When the high priest of Nalanda died, Nagarjuna succeeded him and matured the *Madhyamika* Philosophy, which had been merely conceived by his illustrious teacher and predecessor. He finally became the head of the whole Buddhistic Church. It is said that Nāgārjuna will again appear in India and live for full one hundred years to teach again the sacred Dhamma of the Law of Buddha.

Coming to I-Tsing's time, we find that before joining the University, *Vyakaraṇa* or Grammar was the first thing that was taught. The name for the general secular literature, as the traveller observes, was the *Vyakaraṇa* on which, at that time, five works, *viz.*, the Siddha composition for beginners, the Sūtra, the foundation of all grammatical science, the Dhatu consisting of one thousand slokas and treating particularly of grammatical roots the fourth which was on the three *khilas*,[1] the fifth being the Vritti-Sutra. Students learnt the book on the three *khilas* when they were ten years old and had to study it for three years which period was required to understand it thoroughly. After all these four, students had to study the Vritti-Sūtra, this being a commentary on Pāṇini's sūtra. After finishing them, they learnt composition in prose and verse. Next attention had to be devoted to *Hetuvidya* (logic) and *Abhidarmakosha* (Metaphysics). In learning the *Nvayadvara-tarka-sastra*, students drew *anumana* (inferences). Then they studied the Jataka (Buddhist Birth-stories). That was the preliminary stage of study after which a student could join the University. Here as I-Tsing testifies, eminent and accomplished men assembled in crowds to discuss possible and impossible questions and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men became far-famed for their wisdom. After finishing their education in the University, the scholars proceeded to the king's court to present their schemes and show their talent, seeking to be appointed in practical government.[1]

---

[1] *Khila* means waste land, so called because this part of grammar may be likened to the way in which a farmer prepared his field for corn. It consisted of *Astadhatu* of one thousand slokas, *Manda* of the same number of slokas and *Unadi* which also consisted of the same number of slokas.

While some scholars took to service, others continued their studies when they had to read Patanjali's book, the *Bhartrihari Śāstra*, the *Vakya*-discourse, and the Vedas which they evidently studied to oppose the heretics.[2] It seems there was what we call now the tutorial method of teaching, for I-Tsing observes that he used to converse with his teachers so intimately that he was able to receive invaluable instruction personally from them.[4] And it is also clear that the University not only provided for instruction to those who joined the order of monks but to the laity also. And in concluding this portion of my lecture I may also add that just as we have the system of granting diplomas, in Nalanda, the names of famous scholars were written in white on the lofty gates, a more permanent and conspicuous method of perpetuating the names of the scholars than what we have now-a-days.[3]

Carlyle spoke of an University as a collection of books. Nalanda satisfied this dictum for as we know from Tibetan accounts, it had a fine library, situated in the quarter known as the Dharmaganja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three grand buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnodadhi and Ratnaranjaka all associated with Ratna, *i.e.*, jewels, these being the three jewels of Buddhism,—Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. Ratnodadhi was nine-storied and in it were kept the sacred scripts specially the *Prajnāpāramita Sūtra*. We have already referred to the fact how the Library first fared at the hands of the Muslim invaders. It was then repaired but it was finally destroyed by indigent Tirthankars who felt themselves insulted and aggrieved at the treatment meted out to them, in consequence of which they brought about the destruction of the buildings by fire. Palæographic evidence bears out the destruction by fire and its rebuilding.

---

[1] *A Report of Buddhist Practices*, p. 177.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 181.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 178. 2. See *ante*.

Such was Nalanda. In bidding adieu to this subject we cannot but refer to one of its mottos which was :—

अक्कोधेन जिनेकोधं असाधुं साधुनाजिने ।
जिनेकदरिषं दानेन, अच्चेन अलीकवादिनम् ॥

i.e., conquer anger by pardon, conquer a bad man by good deeds, conquer a miser by giving him more and conquer a liar by truth

or

“नहि धम्मो अधम्मो च उभौ समविपाकिनौ ।
अधम्मो निरयंनेति, धम्मोपापेति सुगगतिंति ॥

i.e., Dharmma and Adharmma both cannot give the same fruits, Adharmma drags one to hell, while Dharmma leads to Heaven.

Let us hope that in our University, also, the same truths will prevail.[1]

J. N. SAMADDAR

---

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Page of the Archæological Department for having kindly permitted me to use photographs. Portions of the delivered lecture have been deleted.

NATIONAL EDUCATION

I. *Education—the most important problem all the world over.*

The struggle for existence is as keen and cruel among the nations as in nature. The stronger nations, particularly those that have well-developed 'mailed fists,' are not slow in backing up by their armaments the advantages which they possess in the world-competition. The fight for food and shelter is as keen and relentless among them as it is among the lower orders of life. Only think of the long suckers which have been thrown out by them for exploring the richest soils in all the parts of the world and how strenuously and persistently they are trying to force them deep into the strata they have struck. And in order to equip themselves with the necessary knowledge and power, they have built up elaborate educational systems to make them fit for the battle of life. Whatever *we* do we do without much knowledge and in a languid way, and the lack of organisation is patent even to the casual observer touring over India. With India, as with all other civilised countries, therefore, education is the most important problem, and it has a special application to this country as we have to cover a great deal of lost ground.

II. *Education and the State.*

If there be any branch of activity which requires thorough organisation from the point of view of national, as opposed to individual or communal requirements, it is education. We cannot leave it to the dubious chances of spasmodic private effort, even when such effort emerges from its primitive stage and rises to the communal level. *Education is a national concern and must be nationalised.* Educational activities must be largely guided by organisations or trusts representing the best intellects in the land and supported by liberal subventions by the State. It is only the State which can bring about such organisations and in all the progressive countries of the world, the State is taking an increasing interest in Education and accepting larger financial obligations for furthering it. Prior to *1889*, the English Universities and University Colleges were dependent for their incomes upon their own unaided resources, *i.e.*, upon endowments, subscriptions and students' fees, but the total Parliamentary Grant for *1921-22*, rose to £1,500,000 and in addition a sum of £500,000 for assisting the institutions to provide retrospective super-annuation benefit for the staffs of Colleges; and the estimate for 1922-23 for Great Britain only was £1,169,000. Our local legislature has had the distinction of passing the educational demands without a demur and it has been recognised that money spent on education is well-spent and that the educational investment, though apparently not reproductive, at least in a direct way, is in its far-reaching effects vastly more profitable than any other public investment.

III. The Ideal of National Education.

(*a*) *Physical basis of culture*: National life, like plant life, must first of all secure a firm footing in the environment in which it lives. If you have watched the growth of a plant, you must have seen that it is the tiny, threadlike roots which first burst through the seed-coat and they plant themselves in the soil. Ere long the plant rises on its legs bearing the primary leaves, not unoften crowned with its discarded husk. Its future life depends entirely upon what nutriment it can draw from the soil into which it has sent down its roots and the atmosphere by which it is surrounded. Similarly, a vigorous natural life and a propitious environment are the indispensable conditions of progress in power and civilization. Can we say that our children and young men are being trained in healthy surroundings and encouraged to cultivate habits of active life which alone can enable them to build up a sound basis of healthy human growth? It is a well-known fact of Eugenics that defects of inherited constitution can be to a great extent remedied by proper treatment. In childhood and in youth we must help our children to build up bodily and mental stamina which will supply them with an inexhaustible store of potential energy and they will be able to draw upon it in the storm and stress of life which await them after they emerge from their pupilage. Our crowded cities are regular death traps and their annual toll of both adult and child life is appalling. They do not and cannot supply the suitable environment for the up-bringing of our children and our youth. Most of the children at school live with their parents in homes from which it is impossible to remove them in order that better conditions of growth may be ensured. But it is different with hundreds of young men who come from their village homes for University education. We should let them have a better chance of normal growth, mental as well as physical. Patna, the largest educational centre in Bihar, is peculiarly unfortunate in this matter. We may have all that is desirable in the educational institutions themselves and in the hostels under their control. But at their very door across the road lie heavily crowded insanitary areas where disease and death are manufactured in the foul drains and unhygienic habitations. When an epidemic breaks out we have hardly any chance of escaping it, and our inadequate residential arrangements necessitate a large portion of the student population to live in the crowded quarters of the city. This is a serious handicap and can be removed only by teaching and residential arrangements away from the bazar.

Residential arrangements in healthy surroundings are, however, not enough. Systematic physical training also is necessary. We are very much deficient in playgrounds and the games afford facilities of exercise only to a very limited number of students. Japanese students have progressed rapidly in physical culture since the introduction of compulsory drill and military training for the lads. We do not possess any organisation for supervising and guiding this important branch of education. The boys in Japan have taken to military training with great enthusiasm and this has contributed in a large measure to the splendid spirit of citizenhip which they have developed.

(*b*) *Bread Educatian*: While talking of national education, we cannot forget that we must first of all learn to *live* before we can attempt cultural accomplishments. Civilisation became possible only after the requirements for maintaining the earthly life were amply provided for. The races of primitive wandering shepherds had little chance of developing the arts of civilization before they migrated into well watered valleys and settled down to agriculture and industry. What are we doing for our agricultural and industrial pursuits? The claims of these two departments of national education have been sadly neglected. Where an English farmer grows four blades we grow only two. We are so ignorant that we cannot dispose of our own raw material and send them out to all the places in the world for being turned into finished products and resold to us for our use. A national system of agricultural and industrial education alone can secure the necessary foundation for a superstructure of higher culture. The loin-clothed rustic in his miserable mud-hole and living on a perpetual starvation diet cannot be expected to sustain on his narrow shoulders and lean members the heavy weight of modern civilization with its exacting demands upon the intelligence as well as the physique of the individual. Life is now a strenuous battle and the weaklings have little chance in the struggle. With most of us old age comes prematurely and with many there is a breakdown before our powers have attained their full normal growth.

(*c*) *Cultural Education*: In an ancient land like India, the claims of cultural education do not require any special advocacy. We have to remember that with us it is not like beginning with a clean slate. The finest elements in Indian culture have been so well-preserved not merely in dusty tomes and buried relics but in the actual lives of men who have devoted themselves to the task of keeping the light of ancient Indian culture burning with a clear, white flame, that it would be simply suicidal to ignore them in the organisation of our studies. They are not a part of our dead past but the soul and inspiration of our living present. I am speaking, of course, of the ancient Indo-Aryan culture. It is possible for an English University (Oxford) to give up Greek or Latin classics, for neither Greek nor Roman History is a part of English History in the same sense as the early history of India is a part of Indian History. We cannot give up our classics, at least as an Entrance qualification into our Universities, and we cannot make even science a substitute for it. Our classics are a part of ourselves and have been woven into the very warp and woof of our national being. No ideal of Indian culture can be complete without an essential basis in ancient Indo-Aryan culture. India can never be self-conscious and understand herself properly, her deep-rooted instincts, ideals, aspirations and sentiments, unless this stratum of her subconscious mind is awakened into full consciousness. Sanskrit drama and literature have found due recognition in the curricula of our University studies but the whole of the literature carrying in it the highest spiritual culture of the Indo-Aryans has no necessary place in our courses for the earlier graduation. Though well-equipped with a fair knowledge of European Philosophy, our graduates go out of our Universities in utter ignorance of the Indian interpretation of life, without even a hurried glimpse of the higher sunny uplands of the culture of their forefathers, where the ideals of their race have been formed and visions of unparalleled grandeur have descended upon them. The most memorable period of ancient Indian history is the ten or twelve centuries which followed the time of Buddha. There is a rich and ample literature of this period both in Pali and Sanskrit, but if the present conditions are allowed to be perpetuated they will for ever remain a sealed book to our undergraduates.

While speaking of Indian culture we cannot forget that among India's heritage we must count the priceless treasures which have been brought into India by our Moslem brothers. Among the world forces which have built up nations and empires, Islam occupies a very important place. The penetrating power and the simple grandeur of the message of Islam is a great national asset. The music, poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture and the literature and philosophy of Moslem India compel respect and admiration and a University which ignores them does not deserve to be called Indian.

And at the present days India stand, face to face with tremendous forces which the Christian civilisation of the West represents. The contact with the West has broken to pieces the crust which isolated us from the rest of the world and the culture of the West is pouring into India through every avenue of approach and the power which it represents is electrifying us into a new life.

Modern Indian culture, therefore, is a complex whole and it is the problem of our Universities to present them in a form which will be readily assimilable to the thirsty young souls who throng our colleges. These three priceless elements in Indian humanity of the present day must be harmonised to form the future structure of Indian civilisation. That harmony is not true harmony which seeks unity by an effacement of individual differences. True harmony is unity in the midst of difference. A symphony is not composed of a single monotonous tune but is made up of many harmonious notes which in their sweet blending constitute the beauty and sweetness of music. Every culture represents a music of the human soul struck upon the lyres of our hearts by an Unseen

Hand, a burning flame which is a part of the great Central Effulgence, a mighty tidal wave from the Ocean of Eternity. The waters which roll down from the sunny Himalayan heights, or those that flow down the Jordan, or those which well up from the perennial springs of Arabia have joined here in the land of our fathers and in their harmonious blending will make it rich and compel it to yield golden harvests for the benefit not only of India but also of the world at large. Our task and unique privilege is to assimilate the rich pabulum placed within our reach and turn it into the very flesh and blood of our nation. I am just back from Taxila, the mother of Universities, and have carried back with me memories which will last me a lifetime. There in the very heart of that valley where many world civilisations have met, not always in peaceful friendliness, but often in the midst of the jar and clash of contending arms, as I lay awake in bed in the early morning, the sweet chant of the Moslem prayer would be borne on the still morning air and reach my innermost heart and thrill it with joy. In that moment could I deny that it was the same human cry calling upon the Infinite which has stirred the heart of man in all times and climes in the history of the world, whether in Musjids, or Cathedrals, or Temples and filled it with pure delight?

I think it is impossible to deny the fact or drown it with specious arguments that modern Indian education does nothing for what is deepest and noblest in Indian culture and which is peculiarly Indian. And this defect makes the highest academic learning characteristically un-Indian. I do not for a moment plead for communal religious training in our Universities. I only plead for fair opportunities to every Indian student to familiarise himself with the richest and finest cultural elements of Indian civilization and imbibe them not merely for the benefit of his own self but of his race as a whole. I only wish to impress upon the reader the supreme necessity of allowing the Indian student facilities for familiarising himself with the literature, philosophy and the spiritual culture of India. Ninety-nine per cent. of our undergraduates go out of our colleges without any idea about their own special heritage and with disproportionate notions of what the modern world can give them. We take good care to teach them European Logic, Philosophy and English language and literature and leave their minds entirely blank about the achievements of their own past. We treat the cultivation of our own literatures of the modern times as if it were of no moment and compel our young men to receive their instruction through a language which is not their mother tongue and to express themselves in a tongue with which they can never hope to be at home as with the one which they have imbibed with their mother's milk and which is the vehicle of ordinary thought and expression every moment of their daily lives. We talk of "Indianisation" but the first thing that stands in need of Indianisation is Indian education specially in the higher stages. I think that our national education while consisting of the best elements which the modern world offers to us, should as an essential factor aim first at rousing the latent forces lying in the deepest strata of our own nature and make them throb with a healthy vigour so that our young minds may be sufficiently awakened and prepared for the assimilation of what is vital in Western culture. Great ideals yet lie asleep in the subterranean vaults of the Indian mind. Let us break open these charnel-houses and let the outer light stream upon them and dispel the darkness in which they lie hidden.

IV. Student Life.

The highest object of education is to emancipate the mind from moral and intellectual thraldom, *i.e.*, to enable the student to act and think for himself. The ideal gardener, though minutely attentive to the infant seedling, devotes very little time to the grown-up trees. His whole effort has only one object in view, *viz.*, to train the plants in such a way as to enable them to require less and less help until they require no help at all. Similarly, though at an early stage some spoon-feeding may be necessary, at the advanced stage of student career, it is positively injurious. It actually cripples the recipient of such help by making him lean upon others where he should have more and more leant upon himself. In the German Universities, as the student emerges from school, he is placed under the discipline of freedom. He is free to select what studies he should take up, what lectures he should attend, where he should live and what standard of living he is to adopt for himself. Perhaps this sudden release from tutelage has an unsteadying effect upon at least the weaker among the undergraduates. But the object is quite clear, *viz.*, to build up a sturdy manhood for the actual battle of life. In the British Universities the student is never entirely released from guardianship, though the amount of liberty he enjoys is large and at this final stage, the value of self-control and self-discipline is fully recognised as character-forming elements. The corporate life is nowhere else so strong or well-organised as among American undergraduates and there the social side of student life is entirely and thoroughly organized by students themselves. While it will be readily admitted that in all well-managed institutions, undergraduate enthusiasm must not be allowed to waste itself in unnecessary effervescence, it is at the same time equally true that it is really injurious when the spirit of guardianship overshadows and thwarts free and healthy growth. The sense of responsibility is exactly proportionate to the liberty allowed to an individual and the former can never have a chance of free development when the latter suffers from too much interference. The roadway to freedom which now lies open to our future generations, will be only a blind lane unless at the last and final stages student life is based on self-control, self-discipline, and self-respect. This is how they grow in all free countries and if we have decidedly set sail for that goal, the soundest basis of training will always be the inner initiative and the inner control.

V. The Teacher.

The subject of this paper cannot be closed without a reference to those to whom the work of educating the young is to be entrusted. Our effort at education is bound to be a failure unless we have a highly trained body of teachers who will take to education as the supreme business of their lives and devote themselves entirely to the cause of culture. For this it is necessary to offer them such inducements, pecuniary as well as opportunities of self-culture, as would draw the best products of our universities. Men have never been drawn to this path of life by the glitter of gold and they do not expect to pile up fortunes by service as teachers. But two things are absolutely necessary as a condition of the success of the teacher's life, firstly, that the burden of his worldly cares should be lifted from his shoulders and secondly, that ample facilities should be afforded to him for study and investigation. The wage fund for this branch of national service should be ample for enabling the teacher to keep the wolf away from his doors, to maintain himself and his family in a fairly decent way, to provide for the education of his children and to retire on a competence in old age. When the youthful teacher enters into his profession his education as a teacher just commences and unless he has opportunities for a fresh advance in his studies or enquiries, he soon becomes a fossil, his work a dreary routine and in proportion as he deteriorates, he becomes unfit for the responsibilities of the position he holds in his profession. In England, the Government has assumed by parliamentary legislation, the whole burden of superannuating the teachers of primary and secondary schools and these are not called upon to make any annual contribution to the

Pensions Fund. In the Universities and University Colleges, each member of the staff is insured in one of a selected number of companies, the annual premium is met in part by the individual, in part by the University or University College. I have already mentioned in the earlier part of this paper that in connection with the Parliamentary Grant for 1921-22, a sum of £500,000 was provided to assist collegiate institutions to provide retrospective superannuation benefit for their staffs. A national system of education cannot be maintained without a National Insurance in the shape of a well-provided wage fund for teachers. We recognise fully that it is not for us to be ambitious in a worldly way as we have taken upon ourselves, a work in which simple living must be combined with high ideals, we only desire that we should be helped to fit ourselves for our work by facilities for study and research which we can never hope to obtain for ourselves with the resources at our command and maintain ourselves in a state of tolerable decency.

VI. The Creative Stage of Education.

I believe that from the beginning of a student's career he should be encouraged to be a constructor and creator and that from the very first day of a child's entry into pupilage to the last, the best that we could do for him is to guide and discipline his spontaneous activity in the lines for which he has natural aptitudes. This is most important for the final and finishing period of his career. It is in the post-graduate departments of a University that the student finds opportunities for developing his intellectual activities in the lines for which he has a special aptitude. Every University fit to be called by that honoured name concentrates its best efforts in the creation of productive power and for this purpose it is necessary to have at the head of the various departments men who have developed creative power and are engaged chiefly in research work whether in science or arts. Imparting instruction is an important part of education, but it can be left to the colleges as at present.

Post-graduate studies, however, require a costly staff and heavy equipment which can be properly undertaken only by a University. Centralisation is absolutely necessary for this purpose and any dispersion of funds or of energy would be criminal in a country which is not particularly rich and can ill afford to undertake a lavish decentralisation in this matter. Every University in India, and the Calcutta University in particular, is gradually developing its activities in this direction. We must build up a competent staff of University Professors, Lecturers and Readers who will themselves be investigators and help students to investigate. The necessary laboratories and libraries for the highest work of the University must come into existence before it will be possible to make post-graduate study a success. Let the colleges do the under-graduate teaching they have been doing and supply the residential requirements for the students of the University. But post-graduate teaching must be centralised in the University itself and conducted under the guidance of the University staff. In America where the University is in close touch with national movements, civic, sociological and technological investigations and all such studies as have a direct bearing upon national progress are receiving an increasing degree of attention. We do not desire our highest educational effort to consist in weaving fine idealistic cobwebs but in helping us in strengthening and organising our national activities in politics, commerce, industry and social progress.

VII. National Destiny and National Education.

National history is a part of cosmic evolution and has for its driving force the spirit of God Himself, it is sacred history. We must bear in mind that we have behind us forces which are more powerful than anything finite and temporal and arm ourselves with the hope that our national destiny is in the safe-keeping of God. Throughout the universe everything is pressing for self-expression and self-realisation, everything from the tiniest atom to the unfathomed limits of the human soul. These eager youthful souls who are thronging our colleges and schools have brought in their best as an offering at the altar of the motherland so that their developed minds and powers may be utilised for her glorification. Let our temples of learning rise to the highest stature of their usefulness, fling open their gates to the thronging votaries and be instrumental in bringing to them the fruits for which they have dedicated themselves.

D. N. SEN

TWO IN ONE

My thought ever walks in twain,
As mother with her child,
The bigger dreams of stars,
The lesser's earthly wild.

One mounts the heights of soul,
And measures strength with storms
The other treads the earth
And flies or creeps with worms.

One turns and hums around
These earthly hopes and fears,
The other beats his time
With music of the spheres.

When the bell of life is rung,
They bear both heaven and earth,
Like tears from both the eyes
From sorrow and from mirth.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

HAS INDIA A CONSTITUTION ?

I

Indian politicians and administrators say that the Government of India Act of 1919 has given India a constitution. The word 'constitution' has been used in a very loose sense in the above statement, and its concept has been prostituted to accentuate England's domination of India. The Government of India Act is not, and cannot, be the Constitution of India: it has defects which would have led to a contemptuous rejection by an Indian Parliament of the document as the constitutional law of India; it has merits exclusively of a negative character.

(1) The Government of India Act is popularly known as the "Reform Act" of 1919. The nomenclature is suggestive. It is that the Act does not by itself comprise the constitution of India, and using the word 'constitution' in its widest sense, the Act is only one of a series of constitutional enactments which have been consolidated and 'reformed' in order to bring about "the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire" The Morley-Minto Reforms can be said to be another of this series. The Charters granted to the East India Company are others. The Reform Act of 1919 is as much the constitution of India, as the Reform Act of 1832 was the constitution of England.

(2) Secondly, the very title of the Act warns us against regarding it as anything except a mere administrative scheme, framed with a view to the better working of the government in so far as it could be influenced, not controlled, by responsible Indian opinion. I do not mean that only a government in which public opinion controls its policy can possess a constitution; but I mean that the extension of the franchise and the provision of a wide representation of Indian opinion in the

legislature are made not as a means of securing the rights and liberties of the people, but as a means of affording facilities for a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, without which no government can be smoothly worked. No very special powers of any constitutional significance have been granted to India. Certain powers of a more or less important nature have been given to the Ministers in charge of transferred departments in the provinces, but they have scarcely any position as constitutional heads of departments. This has practically been admitted even by so strong a supporter of the Reform Act as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, lately Law Member of the Government of India, at the sixth session of the National Liberal Federation of India, held at Poona in December last. I shall discuss the point in due course ; I shall show that on a closer examination, the Government of India Act will be found to be nothing but an administrative enactment improvising in the existing Indian government means for the progressive realization of responsible government in India for which certain administrative powers have been transferred from one agency to another, the essential powers remaining the same under the direction, superintendence and control of the India Office.

Before I proceed further with the question as to whether India has a constitution, we must explain what the word 'constitution' in political philosophy means. It is a much misunderstood term ; it has a chequered history of its own. As a term of political science it was first employed in England to designate certain laws and statutes issued by the English Crown. In the second half of the 17th century, the term gradually came to signify the more fundamental laws and especially those which related to the organization of government. In this seventeenth-century interpretation of the term, we might style the Government of India Act as the constitution of India, without much error. Since the time when the American colonies gave up the yoke of the British

Crown, it has come to mean that body of fundamental laws, written or customary, which has to do with the organization of the State. The Royal Charters which were granted to the first settlers in the British colonies of North America, are part of the constitution of British North America. A modern constitution need not be a single document as that of the United States or the present Soviet Republic is ; it may be a combination of several documents written as in the case of France, or both written and unwritten as in the case of England. But a constitution in the real sense of the term cannot be altogether unwritten, because of the very necessity of a constitution in modern state,—because, a constitution built wholly on traditions and customs must necessarily be incapable of equivocal interpretation which might cost the people their liberty and the government its very existence.

The best modern definition of the term 'constitution' is perhaps that given by Judge Cooley who defines it as 'the fundamental law of the state containing the principles upon which government is founded, regulating the division of sovereign powers and directing to what persons each of these powers is to be confided and the manner in which it is to be exercised."

(3) A State is a subjective conception, while Government is objective. The constitution of a country is the link between the State and the Government ; it determines the basis, the nature, that is, of the State ; it determines as well the form of the government. It does not follow that every country must have a constitution since every country may not be a State. Before the declaration of Irish independence political philosophers would have dismissed the idea of Ireland being called a State. And Ireland had then no constitution of its own. Since constitution regulates the mechanism of State life, we must necessarily attach the idea of constitution to a State. And any charter, of whatsoever importance it might be granted by a ruling country to its dependency in the fullest sense of the term, being called the constitution of the dependency is to indulge

in an inexcusably hopeless paradox.[1] Those who speak of the Government of India Act as conferring on India a constitution seem to have indulged in this kind of paradox.

(4) Those who speak of India as being possessed at least of an 'officiating' constitution err on yet another great point: I shall consider it presently.

According to a great constitutional authority,—Burgess,—a typical constitution must possess at least three sets of provisions: first, a series of prescriptions setting forth the fundamental civil and political rights of the citizens and imposing certain limitations on the power of the government as a means of securing the enjoyment of those rights; second, a series of provisions outlining the organization of the government, enumerating its powers, laying down certain rules relating to its administration and defining the electorate; and a third, a provision, or provisions, pointing out the mode of procedure according with which formal changes in the fundamental law may be brought about. Burgess calls these three sets of provisions the Constitution of Liberty, the Constitution of Government and the Constitution of Sovereignty.[2] The constitution of any country must have these three sets of provisions. The prescriptions under the constitution of liberty may, it is obvious, be included, in the constitution of a country, not in letter but in spirit. The constitution of Sweden agreed upon on June 6,

---

[1] This is at best a debatable point. One may for instance refer to the constitutions of the Dominions an argument that countries which are not States in the strict sense of the term can have constitutions. It will be seen that strictly speaking the Dominions have no constitutions, since the existence of the Colonial Office points to the limitation of the external sovereignty of the Dominions. But then it may be argued with great force that Australia or Canada can be called a State on the analogy of the forty-eight 'states' of America which have been endowed with "provincial constitutions." The absurdity of "provincial constitutions" has been tolerated by sufferance; and the Reform Act of 1919 can be suffered to be called the constitution of India in the same way. But then, while the constitutions of the Dominions or the constitutions of the states of a Federation suffer from a defect which was found possible to be put up with, the case of India as we have shown presents difficulties of a very serious nature so as to preclude any possibility of a compromise between law and opinion.

[2] Burgess: Political Science and Constitutional Law, Vol. I, p. 137.

1809, did not give Sweden any constitution of liberty as such; but articles 57 and 85 give just an indication that the constitution recognises, in spirit, the elementary rights of the people. The articles, in the translation of Mr. Dodd, read as follows:—

> ART. 57.—The ancient rights of the Swedish people to tax themselves shall be exercised by the Riksdag (*i.e.*, the Swedish popular chamber of representatives) alone. The municipal laws to be enacted by the King and Riksdag acting together shall determine the manner in which the separate areas of local government may tax themselves for their own needs.
>
> ART. 85.—The following shall be considered fundamental laws: the constitution, the Riksdag law, the act of succession, and the law relating to the freedom of the press.

Besides these two articles, a perusal of the entire constitution shows that the very extensive powers granted to the Riksdag have effectively secured the rights of the Swedish people. The constitution of liberty instead of being a set of definitely enunciated principles has been interwoven in the entire fabric of the Swedish constitution.

II

Except in the Swedish and in the so-called Colonial constitutions, we have got in every important constitution in the world, a clearly enunciated constitution of liberty. In England, for instance, the Magna Carta of 1215, the Petition of Rights of 1628, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 and the Bill of Rights of 1689, all these in their totality constitute the great British charter of liberty. Dicey says that in England the law of the constitution is not the *source* or *basis*, but the result of individual rights as enforced by the courts: in other words, the constitution has evolved out of an incessant struggle for liberty until it embodies provisions for the protection and guarantee of popular rights. It is true that the Habeas Corpus Act can be suspended in cases of high treason; but there are legal safeguards in the form that the suspension Act should be an annual Act. The Coercion Acts of Ireland (1881-82) are, of course, an exception. Though the English constitution is but a bundle of ancient documents and age-long traditions, these documents and traditions are by no means fossil products of antiquity. They are as living in their potency as the fiery temper of a Thiers or a Mussolini.

It will serve our purpose if we refer to the constitution of liberty of two constitutions, belonging to one and the same country: the first, formulated under one of the most autocratic governments of the world; the second, under one of the most extreme forms of a republican system of government:—I refer,[1] to the Czarist Russia and[2] to the Bolshevik Russia. It will be seen that a constitution of liberty is possible even under an autocratic government. Even in the late German Empire where the Divine-Right theory found its last echo, there was a constitution of liberty, *viz.*, article 3 of the constitution of April 16, 1871. As for the constitution of liberty in the Czarist Russia, Chapter II of the constitution, framed on May 6, 1906, provides—

ART. 30.—No one shall be prosecuted for criminal offences in any other manner than that established by law.

ART. 31.—No one shall be arrested except in the cases determined by law.

ART. 32.—No one shall be tried and punished except for criminal offences provided by laws in force at the time they were committed, unless new laws exclude the actions committed by the culprit from the category of criminal offences.

ART. 33.—The domicile of every one is inviolable. Searches or sequestrations in a domicile without the consent of the owner shall take place only in the cases and in the manner provided by law.

ART. 34.—Every Russian subject shall have the right to select his place of abode and his occupation, to buy and sell property, and to depart from the territory of the Empire without molestation; limitations upon these rights are established by law.

---

[1] To grant to the population the immutable guarantees of civil liberty, upon the basis of real inviolability of person, of liberty of conscience, of speech, of assembly, and of association.

[2] To permit the participation in the Duma of the Empire as far as possible within the brief period of time remaining before the convocation to the Duma and without interrupting the progress of the elections to the assembly, of those classes of the population who are now completely deprived of electoral rights, leaving the further development of the principle of universal suffrage to the newly established legislative procedure.

ART. 35.—Property is inviolable. The forced taking of real property, when such is necessary for government or public, shall take place only for an equitable and adequate compensation.

ART. 36.—Russian subjects shall have the right to assemble peacefully and without arms for purposes allowed by the law.

ART. 37.—Every one shall have the right, within the limits prescribed by law, to express his thought, orally or in writing, and also to disseminate them through the press or by other means.

ART. 38.—Russian subjects shall have the right to form societies and associations for purposes which are not forbidden by law. The conditions for the formation of such societies and associations, the course of their activity, the conditions and the procedure by which they obtain the rights of judicial persons, as well as the manner of dissolving societies and associations shall be determined by law.

ART. 39.—The Russian subjects shall enjoy liberty of conscience. The conditions under which this liberty is enjoyed shall be determined by law.

It will be seen from a perusal of the above that the law has been raised to the position of supreme authority in the State and that it limits every right of the individual enumerated in the above constitution of liberty. This law, be it noted, is neither the word nor the will of the Emperor, or any oligarchic council but the product of public opinion as reflected in the two houses of legislature of Russia, especially the more popular one, *viz.*, the Imperial Duma. Legislation can proceed only from the houses of legislature and a Bill becomes law on the approval of the Emperor.[1] Owing to the pressure of the 'liberal elements' of the Russian Empire, an Imperial Manifesto was issued on October 30, 1905, prior to the framing of the constitution of 1906, in which the Emperor agreed.

These three principles to which the Manifesto agreed are of great significance in considering the Constitution of 1906 which in itself together with the election rules for the Imperial Duma were the first steps towards a legal recognition of a constitution of liberty expressed in the Manifesto.

---

[1] To establish as an immutable rule that no law shall become effective without the approval of the Imperial Duma, and that the representatives of the people be guaranteed the possibility of exercising an effective supervision as to the legality of the acts of the Imperial authorities.

Let us now take the present Soviet constitution. The constitution of liberty is embodied in Chapter 5, Part III of the "General Principles of the Constitution of the Russian Socialistic Federal Soviet Republic," which was adopted on July 10, 1918 and is therefore one of the most recent constitutions.[1] The constitution of liberty reads at follows :

> ART. 13.—To ensure for the workers, genuine liberty of conscience, the Church is separated from the State, and the school from the Church; and the freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is assured to every citizen.
>
> ART. 14.—To ensure for the workers effective liberty of opinion, the Russian Socialistic Federal Soviet Republic puts an end to the dependence of the press upon capital; transfers to the working class and to the peasants all the technical and material resources necessary for the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books and other printed matter; and guarantees their unobstructed circulation throughout the country.
>
> ART. 15.—To ensure for the workers complete freedom of meeting, the Russian Socialistic Federal Soviet Republic recognising the right of its citizens freely to organize meetings, processions and so on, places at the disposal of the workers and peasants all premises convenient for public gatherings together with lighting, heating and furniture.
>
> ART. 16.—To ensure for the workers full liberty of association, the Russian Socialistic Federal Soviet Republic...lends to the workers and peasants all its material and moral assistance to help them to unite and to organize themselves.

It is curious that the limitations of law which were so evident in the extracts already quoted from the constitution of 1906 are conspicuous by their absence in the above. The insistent claims of democracy have placed the individual on a high pedestal, and it has been found incompatible with the extreme ideas of modern democracy to circumscribe the fundamental elementary rights of man with legal safety-valves even though that might endanger the very constitution which gives them that latitude.

---

[1] Translated by Mr. Andrew Rothstein.

We have put forward the two constitutions of the same country at different periods of its history, because they afford an interesting comparison from the point of view of the political scientist. Before the Great War, Russia was a representative autocratic country: after the War, it has assumed perhaps the most extreme form of republican government; and yet, under these two extreme systems of Government, the Russian Constitution has not forgotten to embody a definite provision for the protection of public rights.

Has India such a constitution of liberty? The question has scarcely struck any of those readers of the Reform Act who declare that the Government of India Act of 1919 bestows on India a full-fledged constitution. This is the great error referred to in I (4) above. But let us first briefly examine the constitutions of a few other countries. These different constitutions have been framed at different periods of history, and whatever be the nature of the government they all agree in setting up a definite constitution of liberty. The following Table indicates the articles of the various constitutions which include the constitution of liberty:

TABLE.

Name of the Country.	Date of the adoption of the Constitution.	Articles comprising the Constitution of liberty.	REMARKS.
1. Austria ...	December 21, 1867	Arts. 1-19	
2. Hungary ...	...	The Bulla Aurea of 1222 A. D.?	"In Hungary as in England, the constitution is not embodied in any one instrument, but is contained in numerous laws which may be altered by regular legislative processes."—Dodd.
3. Belgium ...	February 7, 1831	Arts. 7-24, Title II	
4. Denmark ...	June 5, 1846 ... Revised July 28, 1866.	Art. 76 and Arts. 80-89.	
5. Italy ...	March 8, 1848 ...	Arts. 24-32	
6. Norway ...	November 4, 1810	Arts 96, 99, 100, 102 and 104.	
7. Spain ...	June 30, 1876 ...	Arts. 4-13	
8. Portugal ...	April 29, 1826 ...	Title VIII, esp. Art. 145.	
9. Switzerland ...	May 20, 1874 ...	Arts. 49-58.	
10. U. S. A. ...	September 25, 1789	...	

III

India has no constitution of liberty. Three years' working of the Government of India Act has shown that this right has not been conceded even in practice. It has, from the very first, since the publication of the Government of India Act 1919, transformed one of the staunchest co-operators into the leader of the non-co-operation movement. I know that the non-co-operation movement has introduced into this country a spirit of lawlessness unequalled in the history of India, and that people have responded to this spirit because the destructive instinct in man is stronger than the will to construct: it is because that dangerous propensity is more easily satisfied. It was in a whirlwind that Monarchy was destroyed in France; but it took decades to build up a stable government. The Bolshevik Revolution of Russia in its cyclonic rapidity seems to be only a day-dream; but it would take a considerable time before Russian conditions settle down. The success of non-co-operation, howsoever small, is to be partly attributed to this evil propensity of mankind. But it also means a struggle for the realisation of a constitutional government for India.

It has been said that the famous Royal Proclamation of Queen Victoria is the "Magna Carta of Indian constitutional liberty." It is contended that the Declaration of August 20, 1917, guarantees the rights of Indians. The Royal Proclamation of 1858 has been rendered obsolete by the enactment of the Government of India Act, many of the provisions of which stand as a definite challenge to the Announcement of August 20, 1917. To explain what I mean, I may be excused for referring to a speech delivered by Rai Jadunath Majumdar Bahadur in the second session of the Legislative Assembly in September 1921. He thus criticised the present position of India:—

"Neither the Imperial Message which only holds out 'the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to liberty which the Dominions enjoy' and not the liberty itself enjoyed by the Dominions, after a certain number of years, nor the preamble to the Parliament Act which proclaims the 'declared policy of Parliament for an increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of self-government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire,' but does not definitely promise responsible government in British India...........has evoked that enthusiasm and confidence in the minds of loyal and patriotic Indians which they would have done if they had been more definite...........Man infers the future always from the past. Do we not all know that an eminent Viceroy did his best to undermine the very foundations of loyalty by his endeavour to minimise the Queen's Proclamation by laying too much stress on the words 'so far as may be.' Do we not know that a liberal statesman whose accession to the throne of the India Office was greeted with acclamation in this country and who was previously considered as the political guru of all Indian nationalists could not imagine to himself that India would ever get a Parliamentary system of Government and rise to the position of a partnership in the British Empire?"

This shows the real nature of the Constitution of India. The attitude of Lord Peel on the Racial Distinctions Bill passed in the same session demonstrates once and for all the hollowness of Royal Proclamations. These cannot constitute the charter of India's liberty. Even the Government of India Act itself can be restricted in its operation if the Parliament so chooses. The possibility of such a retrograde step being taken may be a probability before long. Can this Act be called the Constitution of India in any sense?

Take some of the most fundamental rights of man as have found place in most of the constitutions of liberty. The Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Regulation III of 1818, the Press Act (now repealed) are but so many instances of how the most elementary rights of man are violated in India. It is a curious phenomenon that while in all other countries the rights of the subjects have been protected against illegal intrusion by the Government, here in India, it is the Government itself which has been invested with powers which are sought to be protected against the collective opinion of the people. The power of certificate, vested in the Governor-General as well as in the Provincial Governors, not to speak of the wide powers of the India Office of direction, superintendence and control have guaranteed to the Government of India perfect liberty of action. Wherever the Indian has been conceded right, the exercise of that right has been fettered with so many limitations or checks as to virtually annul the right. The declaration, for instance, of Martial Law in the Punjab on inadequate grounds as has been pointed out by the Hon'ble Sir M. M. Shafi, the Law Member of the Government of India, in his evidence in the pending Nair-O'Dwyer suit, was subversive of all principles of a constitutional government, and a serious challenge to the modern principle of government by law.

Constitutional law, according to political moralists, is based upon certain rights which are said to belong to man by birth and nature, to be independent of any particular and express gift by the law-giver, and to be beyond all dispute or argument. These rights are associated with universal moral principles which are not a law in the technical sense but are superior to all positive law. Constitutional law is, therefore, in short the standard and touchstone of positive law, which becomes invalid if it is not animated by, or contradictory to, its spirit. Summarising the arguments, it may be concluded that the constitution is a necessity in all countries and that the first essential of a constitution is what Burgess calls the ' constitution of liberty.' Applying the test to the case of India, I have tried to show that India has no constitution. In the first place, the Reform Act might at least be called one of a series of constitutional enactments, but that gives the word constitutional too wide or narrow a connotation. Secondly, the very fact that the Act has been styled the Government of India Act, we can only speak of the Act as outlining only the ' constitution of a Government' for India.

Thirdly, since constitution is the fundamental law of the State and India is not a State, a statute even if it satisfies the three characteristics of Burgess can be called a constitution only by sufferance: but if we get full internal autonomy and the powers of the Secretary of State for India be cut down to the minimum of interference, then India like the Dominions or the American States can for all practical purposes be called a State. My fourth objection is the most fundamental one, namely, that India does not possess a constitution of liberty.

What then is the nature of the Government of India Act from the standpoint of a student of constitutional law? Goodnow says that "while constitutional law treats the relations of the government with the individual from the standpoint of the rights of the individual, administrative law treats them from the standpoint of the powers of the government. Constitutional law, it has been said (Boeuf : Droit Administratif iv) lays stress upon rights; administrative law emphasises duties." According to the distinction thus set forth between these two kinds of law the Government of India Act may be called an administrative law. My contention is that a constitutional charter for India should contain the fundamental principles not only of government but of popular rights not only of the administration, but of the spirit underlying the administration, not only of the working of certain offices and departments but of the political and ethical aim which these offices and departments must have in view: of that fundamental law, which the Government of India Act does not specify and for which I have sought in the Act in vain.

KHAGENDRA NATH SEN

RETROSPECTION

What thou hast forgot
And the world knows not
I remember in vain ;—
To thee but a toy,
'Twas my sole joy
That now hath passed into pain.

Pensive are the flowers
In their emerald bowers,
They seem to remember too
A dawn that is shed
Of some spring long dead
When once perchance they grew.

The blossoms elate
Of the pomegranate
Are bloodred as of yore ;—
Soft sings the cuckoo,
He remembers too
Days that naught will restore.

What doth she recall
When at even fall
The silver sandalled moon
Goes pale of visage
On her pilgrimage
Along a path starstrewn ?

Pensive are the flowers
In their emerald bowers,
Sad is the cuckoo's strain ;
Joys that pass
Too soon alas
Are remembered in vain.

V.B.

THE LATE PROFESSOR GAURI SANKAR DE

“तृणादपि सुनीचेन तरोरिव सहिष्णुना ।
अमानिना मानदेन कीर्त्तनीयः सदा हरिः ॥”

Uniform Career.

Of the silent and earnest workers in the field of education the name of the late Prof. Gauri Sankar De stands most pre-eminent. Of the earliest products of the Calcutta University he was the most unassuming and unostentatious. A true example his life had been of *plain living and high thinking.* His loving kindness, simplicity and sincerity endeared him to everybody. He loved teaching for teaching's sake, and it was a delightful pastime to him ; thus it was that he had been a *typical teacher* for nearly half a century. From his childhood to his dying moment he remained perfectly *uniform* in his habits, mood, conduct and behaviour. The late Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee told him in 1910, when they were brought together by the writer,—“Gauri Babu, it is a matter of great wonder to see you retain the same nature, mood and habits for so long a period as forty-three years since our acquaintance, uniformly you have passed your whole life.” Sir Gooroo Dass also remarked on that occasion, “why the present generation of our country are looking to the West for models and ideals when there are such priceless jewels as Gauri Sankar Babu and such others in our very midst in our own land. He has virtues manifold in him worth imitating.”

Early Life.

The holy sage was born in Calcutta on the 11th February, 1845, and thus was one year younger than his distinguished contemporary Sir Gooroo Dass. He was brought up by his father in his ancestral house in Nilmoney Mitter Street where he had been living independently. Proper care for his education was taken by his father whose ambition had been to see him well-off in life. In his early years he was sent to the Aheritola Banga Vidyalaya to learn thoroughly his mother-tongue, Arithmetic, etc. He continued his studies here till he was fully prepared for the M. V. Examination in which he had a brilliant result. He then joined the Hindu School. In 1862 he acquitted himself remarkably well in the Entrance Examination and secured a first grade scholarship. He then admitted himself into the Presidency College. In 1864 he had an equally glorious result in the F. A. Examination in which he got a first grade scholarship. In 1866 he took the B. A. Degree with a first grade scholarship and stood third in the list of successful candidates. In 1867 he stood first in the M. A. Examination in Mathematics, and so obtained Honours according to the Regulations of those days. Prizes and medals were showered on him by the University. He was a great favourite of Mr. Sutcliffe, the Principal of the College.

In 1867 he was offered a Government post in Benares. But separation from parents and home being painful to him he declined the offer. In February, 1867, at the kind request of the late Dr. Ogilvie he accepted service in the General Assembly's Institution as a Professor of Mathematics and Physics on a monthly remuneration of Rs. 100. He continued in this service with perfect content till his last hour on the 4th April, 1913.

In 1868 he passed the B. L. Examination but he never joined the Bar. Love of teaching was so ardent as to make him forgetful of the pecuniary advantages in other avenues of life.

Happy and content with the small monthly pittance, he got through life honourably and peacefully. Like Dr. Goldsmith's village preacher he was "passing rich with forty pounds a year." He was emphatically a man *who forebore his own advantages* and led a true life of *self-denial* and *self-forgetfulness.*

In 1870 he obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship of Rs. 10,000 and went on cheerfully and heartily with his favourite pursuit till the end of his life. Once interrogated upon his taking all the Arts' Degrees of the University he replied "it had been a firm belief of everybody in those days that to make one's education complete he must be adorned with all the University Degrees."

Manhood—an Ideal Teacher.

Naturally of a peaceful and mild disposition he found teaching to be most fit and agreeable to his temperament. Having no ambition to rise in wealth, fame, or power, he was not attracted by the emoluments of other professions. He derived a peculiar pleasure in teaching and thus embraced it so heartily. His system was to explain clearly the principles of Mathematics and to solve some illustrative typical examples of a difficult nature. His mental absorption in solving a problem was wonderful. He had the rare gift of concentrating all his faculties to one thing and thus he had a thorough grasp of the important propositions of both Pure and Mixed Mathematics. His knowledge of Astronomy had been equally deep and extensive. He regularly observed the celestial bodies for several years at the early hours of the morning. His rich imagination was a powerful auxiliary to his memory and intellect. His was not a creative talent but a constructive one. He built on materials supplied by others.

Connection with the University.

His high qualifications and competency in teaching combined with his spotless character and gentle submissive nature won the admiration and esteem of the successive Principals, Dr. Jardine and Dr. Hastie, Dr. Smith, Dr. Morrison and others. At the recommendation of Dr. Hastie he was appointed by the Government an Ordinary Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1884; in this capacity he continued till 1908 when he was appointed an Honorary Fellow under the New Regulations. In 1887 he was appointed an examiner in Mathematics in the Entrance Examination by the Syndicate of the University and in 1889 a University Examiner in the First Examination in Arts, and later on in the B.A. and M.A. University Examinations. Under the New Regulations he was appointed a permanent Head Examiner in the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations. His honour and independence he fully maintained in all affairs with the University and never showed even the least shadow of *Slave-Mentality.*

Swadeshism.

He had been all along wholly immersed in *pure* and *unmixed* Swadeshism. His food, dress, habits, conduct and character were perfectly Swadeshi. "Bande mataram" was *no hollow lip utterance*, but a pure effusion from the inmost recesses of his heart. His love and devotion to his motherland were clearly and distinctly seen in every one of his actions, and at her sacred altar he was ready on all occasions to pour out his heart's tribute. Great was his delight and rejoicing in finding the revival of the indigenous manufactures and industries during the Partition days of 1905-1906. He was highly gratified at that time in finding the return of his educated countrymen to the ancient order of things. With his worthy colleague Sir Gooroo Dass he truly represented the national side of educated Bengal.

Character.

He was by nature most humble and modest. A man of his keen sense of duty and moral responsibility is almost rare now-a-days. His whole life was a marvel of cheerful laboriousness exhibiting the power of the soul to triumph over the body and to set it at defiance. His regularity of attendance in the college was quite amazing. Lord Carmichael during his visit to the college on looking through the Attendance Register was greatly surprised in finding him absent for only three days in the whole period of his service for forty-three years. His strict *non-violence* was the outcome of his severe *self-discipline* and *self-restraint.* His armour was his honest thought and simple truth his utmost skill. The late Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar once remarked "that a single word from Gauri Sankar Babu is worth more than a lakh of rupees." Truthful, upright, conscientious and God-fearing he had been all along a stranger to diplomacy, expediency, deceit and cunning guiles. Flattery or adulation he looked with hatred and he was never a *Fawning Publican.* He was most tender-hearted. "His pity gave ere charity began." But what he doled out by the right his left hand knew not. The main-spring of all his actions was *Love* in its purity, loftiness, unselfishness and holiness; it was a *Divine passion* in him as a triumph of the unselfish over the selfish part of his nature; it was altogether unsordid and thus inspired sympathy, mutual faith and confidence.

Religion.

A true and a devoted adherent he had been all along of Satya Sanatan Niskam Dharma (सत्य सनातन निस्काम धर्म्म). Sree Sree Narayan has been his tutelary family deity from time immemorial and has been daily adored in due form with proper rites. A pious and a devout worshipper he had been of Vishnu whose eighth incarnation Sree Krishna had been his favourite deity, a living and a loving *Friend* and a Guide. Once he told the writer " though I am a weaver by caste and quite ignorant of your Joga (योग), Japa (जप:) Tapa (तप), etc., yet my love and devotion to Sree Krishna are unfounded and unshaken; I rely solely on Him alone for my peace, welfare and happiness." He looked with awe and reverence the Vedas, Vedangas, Upanishads and the other Holy Scriptures. The Rishees, Munees and the other Demigods he regarded as Celestial Beings endowed with supernatural powers. The bovine species were sacred to him. He told the writer "why the younger generation are not reading the Ramayana and Mahabharata again and again instead of killing time in wild goose chase. They are rich stores of knowledge and wisdom." The Bhagabad Gita had been his constant companion, a portion of which he used to read daily.

His sudden unexpected death on the 4th April, 1913, without any illness and suffering was a clear indication of his extreme *piety* and righteousness and of his steady *faith* and firm *reliance* on his favourite deity Sree Krishna.

Blessed is the land that produced such a sweet angel overflowing in loving kindness, at once a sage and a saint with a rare union of head and heart.

SURENDRA KRISHNA MUKHERJEE

A SKETCH OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF EGYPTIAN MUSIC

"With tombs and ruined Temples groans the land
In which our forbears in the drifting sand,
Arise, as dunes upon the track of Time
To mark the cycles of the moving hand of Fate."

People come and go; nations are born and die; races live and love and vanish in the successive chains of cycled mortality; but Egypt, the inscrutable, remains essentially unchanged. A generation, ten or twenty, is but a shifting grain of desert sand. Beneath the thin veneer superimposed by a so-called Civilisation, the East is still the East; and if left to herself, will invariably revert to her original customs and habits. As it is with her people, so it is with her Arts and her Music which is the highest medium of man's articulate expression.

No one knows exactly when Music was introduced as a part of the rites and ceremonies of Religion and Temple Worship, but its use in such connection has established a separate style of Music which has been classified as "Sacred."

In the Alexandrian Chronicles it is said that "The sons of Seth did according to the angels, invoking in the Angel's Hymn"; and one of the first references to musical instruments in Mosaic literature is that "Jubal was the father of all such as handled the harp and the organ." (*Genesis.*)

After the flood, which some authorities give as having taken place about 2348 B. C., "The sons of Noah, after the waters had passed from the face of the earth, first settled in the Plains of Shinar, part of the ancient Mesopotamia, the modern Diarbekr.

The first migration of Noah's descendants took place about 2281 B. C., when several of the younger branches of the family of Ham, if not Ham himself, travelled towards the

West and South, and settled in Phœnicia and Egypt, taking with them, as some say, Noah himself. Others, soon after, migrated to the East and the empires of Assyria, Babylon, India, Persia and China were founded." (*S. M. Tagore's History of Music.*)

Egypt has been called the mother-lode and fountain-head of Arts and Sciences, and through her, traditional culture was spread over Europe. The earliest records of Egypt and Egyptian music are inextricably confused with her Mythology; for facts must begin where fancies end, and when we go back to the beginnings of History, we have a still further background in Mythology.

In 525 B. C. Cambyses conquered Egypt, demolished her temples, destroyed her records and killed her priests; so that we are compelled to quote from the mythology which has persisted and which existed before the formation of historical records.

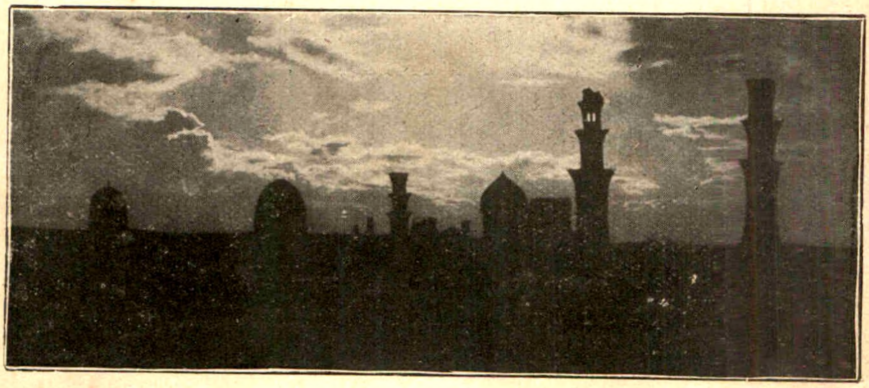
The origin of all gods and their various forms of worship sprung from the mind of superstitious and imaginative man, for "Man depicts himself in his Gods."

The gods of all ancient nations, have common characteristics, even as the human creators of myths had characteristics in common.

There are, therefore, similarity of types in Italy, Greece, India and Egypt.

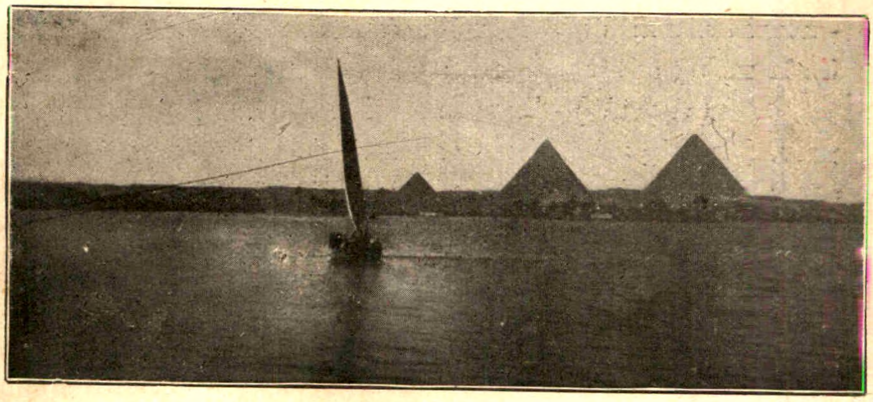
Sir William Jones, the famous Orientalist, in his Essay on this subject written in the Asiatic Miscellany (1784) gives four principal sources of Mythology. First, the perversions of natural history and Truth; second, the wild admiration of the Heavenly bodies; third, the Divinities created by the magic of poetry; and fourthly, the metaphors and allegories of moralists.

In the first case, facts, magnified in the brain of primitive and imaginative man, grew to the *n*th degree of superlative sublimation. Heavens were created, and gods made to inhabit them.



An Egyptian Nocturne.

An Egyptian Pastoral.



An Egyptian Barcarolle.

GAURI SANKAR DE

In the second case, men, worshipping the mysterious and unknown Heavenly bodies, drew from them the forms and symbols, that grew into the worship of the elements, and the manifestations of natural phenomena; and from the theories of the early astronomers, came the origin of Egyptian and other fables, and the creation of demi-gods and celestial heroes.

In the third source of mythology, we find that the poet is responsible for the creation of gods, clothed in the extravagant habiliments of æsthetic concepts. In other words, the fertile brain of the poet drew from the abstract to form concrete ideas which were personified, in the forms of superhuman beings.

Fourthly, and lastly, comes the Moralist, a natural outgrowth of speculation and experience, who, together with the Metaphysician, has invented countless Gods, attributing to them the wisdom and virtues and qualities of character, worthy of emulation, to whom they might point valuable moralistic lessons. And, by the same token, Devils were invented, to frighten the child and man into right doing. Negations themselves were personified. Thus, from a combination of imagination, speculation, poetic fancies and from the elements themselves, Man has drawn his inspiration for peopling invisible Worlds with Invisible Beings, and, by so doing, has enriched our Mental inheritance, and our Intellectual pleasures.

From the store-house of the Past, we may gather such treasures as appeal to us, with which to embroider our Present with colourful life and variety, and upon whose foundations we may build our own architecture of spiritual conceptions and ideals.

Upon the drab Tapestry of the Loom of Life, runs the gold and silver pattern of imaginative fantasy, without which our own garments of thought would remain as colourless as Puritanism, as dull as a document of law to a poet. And from one of these tapestried designs, we draw Music, of which a Seer has said "It is the only Art of Heaven we bring to Earth; the only Art of Earth we take to Heaven."

For the genesis of music in Egypt we must first go to Mythology. In the annual overflow of the Nile, it was said that among the numerous bodies of dead animals left on the sand, there remained a tortoise, whose sun-dried cartilages were stretched across its shell.

"Hermes, walking along the banks, happened to strike his foot against the shell, and felt so pleased with the sound produced, that he at once formed the idea of constructing the lyre." And so it was, according to the Egyptians, the Lyre and not the drum, as in India, which is called the "first musical instrument."

To Trismegistus (Hermes), therefore, is accredited the invention of Music, and the Hermean Lyre, through his discovery of the tortoise shell.

Following close upon the heels of the invention of the Lyre, came the creation of the first flutes from the reeds that grew along the River banks. Osiris is said to have invented the flute, even as Krishna did in India or Orpheus in Greece. Thus, with the drum of which there were many primitive types in Egypt, we have the natural Musical Trinity, *i.e.*, strings, reed and percussion.

Among the innumerable ruins of temples that lie upon the wastes of desert sand, have been discovered many sculptures, images and bas-reliefs, of dancers and musicians in the profile silhouette, from which Egyptologists have reconstructed the models which may be seen in Alexandria, London, Paris, Berlin, New York and other fine Museums.

For the perversions of Muscle-dancing, once symbolical of the sacred Dances in the Temples of Isis, Horus, Osiris or Amen-Ra, we have to thank the garbled versions handed down, among the lower classes of Egyptians, who have misused the ancient dance-forms for the purpose of playing to the physical senses of man. The modern Muscle-dance is a degenerate, sensuous, and sometimes disreputable performance which has long since gone beyond the pale of respectability, and has little in common with its original form.

The Ceremonies and Festivals at the annual overflow of the Nile date back to very ancient times, when the Kings, Priests and People assembled together to worship, with music, songs and dancing, the life-giving waters that made it possible for the desert sands of Egypt to produce a harvest.

According to Heliodorous, the Nile Festival took place at the Summer Solstice. "And it came to pass, at the time of the overflowing of the Nile, that all the inhabitants of Egypt left their homes; the Kings and the Princes and all the people, to see the overflow of the River and make a holiday in its honour." (*The Talmud.*)

In Heliopolis, and other great cities, came processions of Priests, carrying the image of the River God, Num, together with the images of Isis, Horus and other Gods and Goddesses. They were followed by bands of Musicians who sang to the accompaniment of harps, cymbals, pipes, drums and horns. Slaves led the sacrificial oxen which were garlanded with flower wreaths and, decorated with gilded horns, to be offered to the River God.

Chants and Hymns were sung by the priests and the people and a famous Hymn, written originally on papyrus, and now in the British Museum, dated 1399-1266 B.C., was popular throughout Egypt and sung at the yearly Festival to the Nile

Hymn To The Nile.

" Hail, all hail, O Nile to Thee,
To this land Thyself Thou showest.
Coming tranquilly to give,
Life so that Egypt may live.

Glorious River, Art Life-giver;
To our fair fields ceaselessly,
Thy waters Thou dost supply;
And dost come thro' plain descending,
Like the Sun, thro' the middle sky.
Loving Good, and without ending;
Bringing corn to granary.
Giving light to ev'ry home.
O, Thou Mighty Ptah!"

It is said on this occasion of general Thanksgiving, young maidens were sacrificed to the River, and were taken out on flower-decked boats and offered to the Gods as a propitiation. The chants of the Musicians and fanatical Priests drowned the terror-stricken cry of the hapless victims destined to die on the sanguinary Altar of Superstition; the only compensation of the wretched creatures was that they were to become "the brides of the Gods."

Isis (Hathor), the "Cow-Goddess," wife of Osiris and Mother of Horus, was regarded as the female symbol of creation and in her Temples were the veiled Priestesses who chanted before the Shrine on which was written "I am all that hath been, and is and shall be, and my veil no mortal man has ever removed." Here votive offerings were placed, and the Temple-Dancers performed daily in her honour. Isis was also symbolical of the eight forms, for which the Creator, or Osiris, was known. Water, Fire, Sacrifice, Sun and Moon, Ether, Earth and Air, were the elements worshipped by the old Egyptian devotees through their Deities.

Apis, Horus, Typhon, Seth, Pathor, Bes, Anubis and other Gods represented the forces of Nature and the three attributes of Creation, Preservation and Destruction, which were the Trinity upon which the Gods of many nations have been founded.

The Egyptians, first conquered by Cambyses, have since always suffered from the yoke of oppressors and invaders.

Beginning with the Empires of the Ptolemies and their Hieroglyphic Records, there was a gradual decadence of Art and Learning in the land, so that much data has been destroyed that might have been invaluable to the student of Egyptian Music. It is said, however, that Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes, the first three Ptolemies, were all patrons of Music and encouraged its practice and study in their day. About the time of Ptolemy the Third, the influence of Greek music began to be felt, and at various festivals bands of Grecian Musicians and Singers were employed who introduced new forms of Music.

It is said that Ctesicius, the Alexandrian, invented the "Hydraulicon," or water organ, which had eight pipes, placed on a round pedestal, and played by some system of pumping water into it, although as the instrument had no visible keys, the manner in which it was played is not exactly known.

Athenæus states that in the reign of the Seventh Ptolemy, the people of Alexandria had reached a high degree of musical perfection, and that "the most wretched peasant or daylabourer among them was not only able to play upon the lyre, but was likewise a perfect master of the flute."

Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, was called "The Flute Player," because of his fondness for that instrument.

After the meteoric reign of Cleopatra had come to a tragic end, Egypt fell into the hands of the Romans, and an altogether new element entered into arts and music. Herodotus writes (in 484 B.C.) that when he was in Egypt, one of the wonderful things he heard was the song of Linus (Maneros) whose dirge had been sung from time immemorial.

Plato, who lived thirteen years in Egypt, and studied music while there, became very fond of the Egyptian style of music, and the progress they had made in that art.

Diodorus (60 B.C.), writes that on the occasion of the death of a King in Egypt, the Temples were closed for a period of mourning, extending through seventy-two days, when the people walked through the streets and sung mournful chants and dirges in honour of the dead.

According to Dr. Birch, one of the oldest metrical songs of Egypt was called "The Song of the Thrasher," which he translated from hieroglyphics for the British Museum:

> "Thrash ye for yourselves,
> Thrash ye for yourselves, O oxen,
> Thrash ye for yourselves,
> The straw which is yours,
> The corn which is your master's."

The folk music was simple, graphic and rhythmic, whether in song or dance, and the people were accustomed to dancing together to the accompaniment of clapping hands, drums, cymbals, and flutes.

In the seventh century, when Egypt was again conquered, and this time by the Mohamedans, the call to Allah supplanted the chants to the gods; the Koran took the place of The Book of the Dead; the cry of the Moazzin from the minaret, calling the Faithful to prayer, was heard in the land; and the precepts of the Marabout drowned out the conflicting drone of the Priests of Isis and Osiris.

Modern Egypt is inhabited by the Muslim and Arab of mixed descent and their music is dominated by the influence of several races. The original musical scale of old Egypt was built on the one-third tone scale, much in favour with the more cultured element; but the more popular scales were built on the minor forms with the flatted seventh, and sometimes the augmented sixth.

The music of Egypt may be roughly divided into two main classes, Secular and Religious with their various subdivisions according to class.

Under the head of Secular Music comes the Music of the Court, the dances, songs and ceremonial music of state and public festivals; second, the pastoral music of the herdsman, the tiller of the soil, the songs of the boatmen, the martial music of the soldiers; the male and female public dancers, and minstrelsy of wandering bards.

Under the head of Sacred Music, comes the chants of the Priests and the music of the temple musicians; the modern music of the Mosque and the traditional music of sacred festivals.

In almost any of the "mongrel ports" of Egypt the traveller may enjoy a variety of music. The Nile boatmen have a special song for every phase of their work, and sing in unison and alternating solo to lessen the tedium of their labours as they row in rhythm to their songs. The blue-clad Fellahs, the dragoman, the Somali, the Swahili, the Nubian, Arab and all the hangers-on of the Ports, have a song of their own, or at least a species of song, if it be no more than a rude chant. One writer has described the folk singing of the African as "terribly symbolic with a brooding intense melancholia caused by the augmented intervals between the sixth and seventh notes, the seventh note itself curiously flattened; with the scale moving steadily downward, not upward as in Western music; without key, without distinct tonality. Just the rhythmic, staccato, outpourings of Africa's dumb savage soul." (*Achmed Abdullah.*)

There are public courts of dancing in any Egyptian town of to-day where the nautch girls, or *Ghawazee*, are the professional dancers whose art dates back to the days of the Pharaohs although it has lost much of its original and classical purity and character. The dancing girl has been called the "symbol of invitation and allurement and joyous surrender which is woman with her supreme gift-love that together sway the world." That is perhaps a somewhat exaggerated and idealistic description of the majority of Egyptian Muscle-dancers, whose temperamental physical contortions have no suggestion of either spiritual or classical restraint; being rather, a frank appeal to the senses.

There are bands of professional male and female dancers, called the "Ala Teeyeh " and the "Awa Lim," the latter term being used to designate the singing girl rather than the dancer. The average singing girl adapts her song to the style of her audience; she sings of love, war, intrigue or whatever might appeal to the mood of the onlooker. She is usually accompanied by a rude orchestra composed of drums, flutes, cymbals, tambourines and the clapping of hands to accent the rhythm.

In the mixed dances there are several which follow tradition, the principal one being called the "Hes," a conventional dance which starts with three couples, who whirl and sway to the beat of stamping feet; until, the dancers, exhausted with the crescendo of ecstatic rhythm, fall out to be replaced by fresh couples.

Another famous dance is called the "Herti Bridal Dance" which is performed on the occasion of wedding ceremonies to the accompaniment of muffled drums.

In the more remote districts where tribal music and dances still take place, whole bands sometimes join in a wild folk dance celebrating some special event where "the feet of hundreds of dancers beat the sand tirelessly, like the sound of horses galloping over soft earth, and the clapping of their hands in unison merged at a little distance into a high sustained note as though the new Monsoon were roaring through the bush." (*Moore Ritchie.*)

There are the songs of the Raiders, swooping down on their camels upon some little caravan, or lonely camp in the desert; there are the glad songs of the watering holes, where man and beast is refreshed by life-giving waters, and the wanderer sings "long songs at deep wells."

From the black felt tent of the Tuareg, comes the thin tune of the scrannel-pipe and the throb of the drum, the plaintive air suggesting a melancholy that is as indescribable as the desert itself.

From the wandering caravan, where the Arabs clad in white bournouse, sway rhythmically along the sands on his "ship of the desert," comes the minor cadences of some wistful melody, born perhaps of longing or desire. By the red camp fires of the Beduin at night comes the beat of tom-toms and the tinkle of bells that punctuates the measure of some dancing maid of Biskra, as she weaves a theme with flashing feet and swaying arms, and taps a tambourine in rhythm with her dance.

From the oasis of Ouled-Nail comes the dancing girl, famed throughout Egypt, for she is trained from earliest childhood, in the old traditional dances of her country and she is taught to dance and dancing is her profession and her all.

The most spectacular Dancer in Egypt to-day is the Dervish, or "Zikrs," whose wild fantastic dances border on the edge of insanity, who becomes self-hypnotised by the intoxication of his own dance and works himself up to a fanatical climax. He calls himself a "Religious Dancer," and is to be found in the vicinity of Mosques on feast days, although he is not above performing before an audience for the pleasure of it and the hope of reward. There are numerous "Dervish Schools" in Egypt for the instruction of neophytes.

There is a certain instrument called the "Nay," or Dervish flute which is used by the Zikr Dancers. It is a reed instrument 18 inches long and is pierced with six holes in the front and one in the back, and is capable of producing mellow and full notes in the hands of a competent player.

The "Moolid" is a famous Birthday Festival given by the Egyptians in honour of Saints' Birthdays, and on this occasion most of the dances and songs of popular character are repeated.

Besides the Dervishes are the Fakirs or "Singing Fakirs" who also dance to the oft-repeated words of "La Ilahi Illulla." The leader of the chorus starts the theme which is taken up by all the dancers who chant in unison as they dance together.

We cannot leave the subject of Egyptian music without giving a brief survey of some of the more famous instruments used by both the ancient and modern Egyptian, as it is impossible to have a really perfect picture of dancer and singers unless we know something of the character of the instruments they use.

The first instrument, as we have said, was the Hermean Lyre, whose three strings were said to represent the three seasons of the Egyptian year, spring, summer and winter. There are a considerable variety of lyres of different size and shape, some with the carved heads of animals as ornamentation.

The harp, or *Beni*, was a very popular instrument in the ancient days, and there are many pictures of it in sculpture and paintings. In the tomb of Rameses the Third, there are two harpists painted in fresco, the instruments are depicted as having ten and thirteen strings, and were probably similar to the harp described in the Old Testament as "an instrument having ten strings," or is most likely the traditional harp of David.

The *Tamboura* was a stringed instrument compared to the guitar and was played with a plectrum.

The Pipes of Reed were similar to the Greek syrinx and were common in the past. Flutes, belonging to the same family, abounded and still are the most popular of instruments. There is the Coptic flute, or Sebi; the Photinx, or crooked flute; the shepherd's flute, the scrannel pipe, and many others. The double pipe, or Mom, was a popular instrument with the early Egyptian.

The trumpets were associated with temple rites, with war and raids, and there were several varieties in common use. The Conch horn, similar to the Indian Buccina, the ivory horn, the long brass horn, the buffalo horn, all were in use many thousands of years in Egypt.

The Sistrum, bell, cymbal and tambourines were, and are, popular instruments for accompanying a song or dance. The

Sistrum has a frame of brass on which metal rings are strung and produced a pleasant tinkle when shaken. This instrument was used by women in temple rites, accompanying the religious dances of the day. The castanet, or Crotola, was also used to augment the tone and accent of ensemble playing.

Among the most ancient instruments still found in Egypt of unchanged character are the Kissar, or Nubian Lyre; the Sistrum and the Darakbukkeh (or drum).

Here, as elsewhere, among primitive nations, the drum is the musical heart beat and there are many varieties in use there now. The wooden African drum, which is used to relay news through the bush and desert; the Baz, or Dervish drum; the Tabl Shami, or country drum; and the Darool or Syrian drum.

From life to death, in war and in peace the beat of the drum throbs, in vibrating pulse, in minor tone-waves, that make a suitable background for every mood. We hear its soft insistent accompaniment to some plaintive love-song coming to us on the calm stretches of the moonlit Nile; we hear its wild beat setting the rhythm of a dance by the Arab's tent at night; the drum follows the accent of some wandering Bard whose songs keep alive the glorious memories of old Egypt. We seem to hear its throb over the hot sands of the Sahara, in the cool shadows of some oasis, in the very presence of the Pyramids and the Sphinx and among all the ruined cities of a long gone past.

The endless processions of humans have come and gone, have lived and loved throughout the length of their little day, and have vanished, leaving no imprint in the shifting desert sands; the old buried cities keep their secrets hidden beneath the tawny bosom of the Desert, the lovers, the singers, the minstrels, and all those who made sweet music and moved rhythmically "a little while," have gone to mingle with the inarticulate dust; new actors have come upon the stage, new songs are sung, new dreams are born, and yet are they not all echoes from the unchanging past?

Where are they now, those long-gone minstrels of an ancient Past,
Who hears their songs, or who is thrilled by those forgotten themes,
Awakening old memories and stirring dormant dreams?
Dear vanished singers, and those who wrought diviner strains
From souls responsive and in tune; Alas, nought now remains,
Of thy once lovely lays, to follow down the cycled years,
Save wistful sighs and little wandering ghosts of tears.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II—CHAPTER XXV.

LAST WORDS.

Next day Gunavanti became worse. Her fever went up much above the previous average and she could scarce keep her eyes open. Bachu and his wife Kundan were sitting at her bedside. As Jagat came back from the doctor's place Gunavanti opened her eyes and faintly smiled. Jagat sat down on her bed and felt and caressed her warm hand with his own.

"Mother, how are you now?"

"Better," cried Gunavanti with some effort. Her obvious weakness brought a terrible thought to Jagat's mind. He had never thought till now that this seemingly slight illness would end fatally.

"You have no other discomfort?"

"Oh, not at all. Why are you afraid, little brother?", cried Kundan.

"My boy," cried Gunavanti with still greater effort, "do not lose courage. Nothing will happen to me. And even if I go what does it matter? What should unfortunates like myself do but go?"

"Don't say that, auntie!" cried Bachu.

"Bachu dear, I would like to live. I have yet to see my Jagat settled in life. But I feel I cannot recover this time."

"Mother darling! Why do you allow such thoughts to sap your strength? You will surely get well soon."

Gunavanti closed her eyes. She had no power to bear any further strain. All the others remained silent, listening to her heavy breathing. Her sunken face and the sharp bones projecting through her hollow cheeks made her face cadaverous. Jagat felt his worst fears about to be confirmed.

"Bachubhai, you just watch here. I will fetch the doctor again."

"Jagat, my darling," Gunavanti called out. She was roused at the sound of his voice and she opened her fast dimming eyes. She stretched out her arm to touch Jagat.

"Yes, mama! What do you want?"

"Nothing;"—her words came slowly—"sit down."

Jagat obeyed in silence.

"Jagat! I feel as if I am sinking. But don't be afraid. Bachu, Kundan, please look after my Jagat."

"Certainly, auntie," replied simple Bachu and his loving eyes filled with tears.

"And, Jagat,—go on—with—your studies. And—Bachu—you will—see him—married. I wished—to live—to see—that."

"Mother, darling mother, do not speak thus. Let me fetch the doctor again."

"Just wait. I have not—many moments left.—Sometimes—Oh Jagat—I feel—everything—dark. My respects—to—Ramkisandasji—and—and—," her failing voice trembled, "tell—Raghubhai—may God pardon him. Jagat,—dearest boy—be worthy of your—father's name. Kundan,—call your mother. You are—but—children." And Gunavanti closed her eyes again.

"Jagat, now run and fetch the doctor."

Jagat felt suffocated. He felt as if his heart would burst. Till now he had no idea that Gunavanti was dying. His mind had just then become a blank, his heart felt empty. All feeling, thought and emotion seemed frozen. The terror of the impending blow just stunned him. He got up mechanically and hurried away. Every word his mother had said was graven deep in his heart. Ramkisandasji, Raghubhai,—suddenly a wave of passion overwhelmed him. Assuredly it was the fault of Raghubhai that had forced them to leave Ratnagadh. Why else should his dying mother speak of pardon? What fearful injury could this Raghubhai have done to his mother—to his darling revered mother? What mental agony—a thousand times worse than any bodily pain—did she have to undergo from this man? The feelings of terror at the impending death of his mother began now to flow along this channel. Jagat began to despise himself. What had *he* done to avenge the sorrow of his mother. Full of these thoughts he reached the doctor's house; but, unfortunately, he was out. He learnt from the doctor's wife whither he had gone and followed him. But he missed him there too. He was beside himself with rage and vexation. He did not know what to do or where to go. Fearing that the worst might happen, he hurried again to the doctor's. But still he had not returned. So he sat and waited: then after a few impatient turns outside his house he rushed homewards.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE LAST LOOK.

Raghubhai had heard that Gunavanti's state had grown worse. He was sorely puzzled. He had loved and also respected her. And so he wished intensely to see her once again at any cost before she died. Whatever he may have done in a moment of blind passion, still Raghubhai was not entirely devoid of moral sense. His frozen heart only this one person had been able to thaw even for a moment and he was grieved to learn that that person was on her deathbed. To him gratitude, conjugal fidelity, parental love had hardly any meaning. But the single drop of love that had somehow penetrated to his selfish sinful heart forced him at this moment to make a thoughtless step. He felt no shame in what he was about to do. Utterly ignorant of what ties of any sort meant, he could see no sin in having harboured a tender feeling for Gunavanti. And he did not stop to think what harm there could be in going to see her at such a time. He had not yet learnt the lesson Anantanand had wished to teach him, that selfishness is not the only thing in the world.

Raghubhai dressed himself to go out. While tying on his turban he asked himself why he should go. His hands trembled a little and desire again had the upper hand. So he adjusted his turban firmly on his head and got out. He hesitated a little at the door of Raiji's house. He felt no compunction at the thought that he had first been a servant in that house and that he had afterwards turned out the wife and child of his master and benefactor. He felt no hesitation in poisoning by his accursed presence the last moments of a woman he had so wantonly insulted. He hesitated only lest Gunavanti might utter before others something which might lower his prestige.

He entered the house but found everything very quiet. He saw the poverty of the place and remembering his cash account in the Bank of Bombay he smiled a little. Peeping into the inner room he saw that Gunavanti's bed was just there. Fortunately for him there was no other person. Jagat had gone to the doctor's, Kundan had gone to fetch her mother and Bachu, thinking his aunt was asleep, had dozed off in the next room.

Raghubhai approached Gunavanti's bed. A dim night lamp was burning on a stand and its flickering light, showed the skeleton outlines of her face. Raghubhai saw with some sadness the change that had come over that face. This then was the once beautiful form of Gunavanti. Well, he never could have thought it possible. For a moment or two Raghubhai stared intently at her. The same eyes, the same nose, the same forehead, yet how utterly different! He felt his gaze rivetted to her in a mysterious manner.

After a while Gunavanti awakened from her unconscious stupor. Her weakened brain would not remember the figure looking at her. This turban, the face, seemed familiar; but memory was nearly gone, and her eyes were dim and she could not see distinctly. Few seconds later her ears caught a voice coming as from a deep underground vault: "Gunavanti!" Gunavanti felt the voice to be even more familiar. She remembered a distant town. She remembered Raiji's death,—a house,—this man,—a night,—the picture was complete. She saw again this man, her oppressor. Her breath came quicker, her heart beat faster with terror. Her eyes were dim, and she tried to open them wider. She remembered the name: "Ra-, Ra-, Ra-," but her tongue refused to move. She felt everything slipping from her as if it were sinking down, down and still down. She muttered, "Ram, Ram! Jagat.—" But what was this? Who was this? All became dark, she dropped, was forced to drop all effort.

Raghubhai had called her by name but he saw at once that Gunavanti was frightened even at the sight of him. Her eyes stared vacantly in front of her, and she seemed as if choking. He was wondering what to do and whom to call for help. Gunavanti's breath came in fitful gasps. He went into the next room.

Jagat had rushed back swiftly and had entered the house. From the front courtyard he heard the sound of stertorous breathing and ran into the room. He saw his mother dying and saw Raghubhai, like a snake, standing there quietly as if he was enjoying his victory and his revenge. Jagat lost his head completely, and all the poison in his nature burst forth. The sorrow at the death of his mother was converted to fierce hatred. Instead of a holy calm an unholy passion filled his heart. He snarled at Raghubhai and rudely pushed him aside and dropping down beside the bed saw the last breath leaving his mother's body. He cried out to Bachu. In a moment Bachu and other neighbours came running in. They lifted Gunavanti out of the bed.[1] They stretched out her limbs and taking her out into the courtyard poured a pail of cold water upon the nearly lifeless body. One woman cleaned a space on the floor and plastered it with cow-dung, where they laid the body of Gunavanti. And with shouts of "Siram," "Siram "[2] all tried to help the soul of the dying woman swifter to heaven.

---

[1] Among the Hindus of Gujarat, as also elsewhere in India, the dying person is lifted out of bed and put upon the floor.

During all this noise and confusion Raghubhai quietly slipped away.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Grief is of two kinds. One completely overcomes the man. Gushing forth in tears and loud lamentations it leaves him without hope, fortitude or strength. The other sort of grief strains every nerve of the body, and gives a temporary strength. It checks all tears, and does not allow any useless lamentation to reach the ears of the unfeeling world around. And it hides the complete void in the heart behind a veil of an outward calm. Jagat's grief was of the latter type. He said not a word, nor shed a tear. With his face set firm and outwardly quite calm he set fire to Gunavanti's funeral pyre and performed all the usual ceremonies for her. Poor simple-minded Bachu could not understand why his cousin did not weep and lament like other people but went about the house like a ghost, his lips set and his head bent down. Jagat's grief had been poisoned with hatred. From the moment he saw Raghubhai at the side of Gunavanti's death-bed all other feelings had receded into the background, and only fierce hatred for Raghubhai remained. Even on the burning-ground his heart was full of this as he saw Raghubhai sitting a little way off and heard him praising Gunavanti. Every feeling in his heart was focussed at this one point. Raghubhai had made them penniless, Raghubhai had insulted her and driven them away from home, Raghubhai had polluted his dying mother by his accursed presence at her bedside. His hands were itching and all his thoughts were yearning to pull Raghubhai to pieces and to roll him in the dust. His boyish mind was filled with thoughts of vengeance. He was muttering day and night but one sentence: "What should I do to revenge myself upon Raghubhai?" When the poison stream of hatred bursts forth suddenly into the human heart it has a strange and powerful fascination. The person loves to stand by it and to quench the agonising flames of the heart in its flow. It was for the first time that Jagat stood on the brink of this poison river. Its fascination almost maddened him. Sometimes he remembered Tanman, but the charm of that beautiful face was perceptably less now. Her face and Raghubhai's seemed to come up together before his mind's eye. And Raghubhai's attracted him more. A storm was constantly raging in his heart and thoughts of hatred made Jagat quite a monster.

---

[2] Sita-Ram.

Thus a fortnight passed away and then he got a bit calmer. What should he do next? He was but a child in years. There was Tanman in this world, and there was Gunavanti in the next, waiting to see Jagat become an example to all mankind. Besides the time for the reopening of the college was fast approaching and so his practical commonsense turned his thoughts to Bombay. Once he was overcome by a sudden wave of passion. He suddenly made up his mind to see Raghubhai face to face and to pour out the vials of his wrath and his scorn upon his head. He got up at once and rushed to his house. In the porch Ramā was playing. She looked with astonishment not unmixed with fear upon this scowling boy.

"Is Raghubhai in?"

"No, he has gone to Bombay."

Jagat bit his lips, and without looking at Ramā turned and fled. Ramā's amazement was very great. In her simple little world there had been as yet nothing but pure joy.

Jagat was furious at first. But sense returned little by little. He must study first and become worthy of Tanman. In order to punish Raghubhai he must be a man of some position. So the first step to attain his revenge was to finish his education. As long as he was a mere boy he could do nothing. These thoughts became more and more fixed day by day and at last when the college reopened he returned to Bombay. As he approached Bombay the storm rose afresh in his mind, because every mile he seemed to get nearer to Raghubhai. At last he reached his college, but Jagat after the vacation was different from the Jagat that had been before the vacation. The latter had been but a boy, and now Jagat was a man grown to full stature under the dual influence of love and hate. His mates were at first quite annoyed at this change. None had expected that in a couple of months Jagat would become such a serious, gloomy, solitary person.

Truly speaking everything within him had changed. He had no longer any liking for the sweet things of the world. He disliked the boisterous life of his boyhood and of his college days. All his happiness was in the remembrance of Tanman and all his grief was for the death of his mother. He had no feelings save fierce hatred and brooding gloom and he had no other aim in life just then but hard work and study.

He felt that his world had now become entirely different from that of his old colleagues. For hours he would lie upon the sea-shore, thinking, thinking,—seeking out answers to the new questions in his new world. He did not often find the answers and so tired out he would again be immersed in his studies.

(*To be continued.*)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

THE FLOWER OF RAJASTHAN

ACT III; SCENE I.

[*Scene*—A room in the castle of Joda. Discovered Rajah Maun.]

Maun—

Five moons have waxed and waned, and still confined
A prisoner within these dreary walls
I fling defiance at the Jeypur crew,
And of this stronghold still at least am king.
How many a time I would have flung myself
Upon my sword and perished in despair
Had not one hope sustained me, faint indeed
But not extinct, although the fatal news
Might any hour have reached me. Till it come
I live for Krishna, Flower of Rajasthan,
Nor will surrender, while she lives a maid,
That purpose high for which I drew the sword.
Ha, who comes here?

(*Enter Seonath through an aperture in the wall.*)

Seonath—

A friend of Majesty
Not less revered when found in poverty
Than in well being.

Maun (*embracing him*)—

Seonath it is!
How foundst thou entry?

Seonath—

By a secret path
Cut through the rock and scarcely large enow
To give a stripling passage. Yet mine axe
Backed by determination hath prevailed

Through long, slow hours unlit by any gleam
And stifling horrors of that likely tomb.
Maun, I am faint and well nigh dead of thirst.

(*Maun pours water from a flagon and hands it to him.*)

Maun—

Would it were wine!

Seonath (*after drinking*)—

The best I ever quaffed
Once in the awful silence when I sank
With tired axe upon that narrow floor
Methought I heard a sound, as though some step
Followed in stealth behind me. Then a rat
Leapt lightly o'er me and I staggered on.

Maun—

What news hast thou? how goes it?

Seonath—

All is well.
I have passed in and out among the ranks
Of Amber's host. His men are ill content;
Their forage is exhausted, and aloud
They clamour for their wages. Sowae Singh
Hath of thy faithless chieftains called a loan
Whereat they murmur, while more lawless some
Begin to plunder Jeypur, left exposed
Without defences to their brigandage.
The siege begins to weaken, and anon
The Cuchwaha must raise it.

Maun—

Where is he?

Seonath—

Idling his hours in camp, and given o'er
To wine and self-indulgence. Some new fancy
Hath lately tied him to a dancing girl;
But now he tires of her and cries for home,
Or would at once strike tent for Oodipur
And nuptials with the Flower of Rajasthan,
Leaving to Sowae Singh the tedious task
Of holding on the siege till his return,
Or else the shame of failure.

Maun—

And to this
What answer gives he?

Seonath—

Sowae bids him wait
Till Joda hath surrendered and his foe
Be given o'er to torment and to death.
For neither Amber's crown nor Marwar's cushion
Are safe, quoth he, while Maun is yet alive.
And did he speak the counsel of his mind
Sowae had added, Amber thus allied
By wedding rite to Mewar were too strong,
Should Jagat Singh to Marwar's *gadi* raise
Eyes of ambition. Then to set aside
Dhonkul were easy done, and Sowae Singh
His bread might go a-begging.

Maun—

Ha, ha, ha!
But, Seonath, should Jagat's will prevail
To solemnize that rite at Oodipur,
Then is the princess lost to me for aye,
And I have fought and suffered all in vain.

Seonath—

After the snake-bite look for remedies.
(*Yawns*) Now crave I leave, my sovereign, to retire,
For sleep resistless draws me to her breast.

Maun—

Bread shall be set on thy awakening.
(*Exit Seonath*)

(*Maun seems lost in thought. Through the aperture of the wall enters stealthily Amir Khan. He pauses behind Maun and draws a dagger. Maun turns sharply round and confronts him.*)

Maun—

Villain, what art thou?

Amir Khan—

One who knows no fear,
I, the Nawab Amir—thou mindest me?
I come to end this long protracted siege,
With one sharp thrust to settle it for aye,
By ending thee, the author of the strife.

Maun—

Thou vile assassin, wouldst thou murder me
Unarmed defenceless?

Amir Khan—

I have risked my life
To slay thee and rid India of a pest.
Die, Son of the Pambasi!

Maun—

Murder, help!

(*Amir Khan springs on him. Maun seizes his uplifted arm. They roll in a scuffle on the floor, during which Maun secures the dagger and holds it poised over the other's throat.*)

Amir Khan—

Strike—it is Kismet. Would my lot had been
To die for one as valorous as thou
Rather than for a coward and his gold.

Maun—

So thou art Jagat's messenger! The crime
Is worthy of its author. O ye gods,
E'en Sowae Singh would not have stooped to this.

Amir Khan—

Strike, Rajah, quickly if thou mean'st to slay,
But torture me no further.

Maun—

Ay, 'twere just—
And yet I hesitate, I know not why,
Unless because thou now art as I was,
Unarmed, defenceless.

Amir Khan—

What wouldst thou of me?

Maun—

Thy service rather than thy life, Mir Khan,
Could I rely on it.

Amir Khan—

O Maun, O Maun,
Thy generosity inflicts a wound
No time to heal it should be long enow,
Though I should salve it with the services
That all my being would render unto thee;
For from this hour I am thy sworn ally,
Thy slave and chattel, and for Maun alone
Shall live the life he gave me. On my lips
Place that unbloody blade that I may swear
Life-long allegiance with my grateful kiss.

Maun—

Swear it—thy life is spared. Rise, Amir Khan,
And from my platter share the scant repast
For which we praise the gods in straitened times.
(*Enter a slave*)

Slave—

Thou calledst, master?

Maun—

Set on bread and wine.

ACT III; SCENE II

[*Scene*—The camp of Jagat Singh, Jodhpur. Sowae Singh discovered with Sindhia. A messenger, with salaams, hands Sowae Singh a letter which he reads and then crumples in his hand.]

Sowae Singh—

Perdition! All is lost. The Jeypur force
Is cut to pieces, and the city lies
Defenceless at the mercy of Mir Khan,
Who flings us his defiance; at his side
Ride the proud chiefs of Marwar who forswear
Their oath to Dhonkul, clamouring for Maun.
'Tis idle here to linger, we must march
Without delay on Jeypur.

Sindhia—

If the ill
Be not already past its remedy.
Retreat will be expensive. For my part
Of the whole enterprise I would be quit.

Sowae—

Which means thou wouldst desert us, Sindhia?

Sindhia—

'Tis yours to make it worth my while to stay.
Knows Jagat aught of this?

Sowae—

Scarce anything,
Nor cares to know. The only thought he has
Is for his latest passion, Rascaphoor,
His Islamitish mistress, in whose lap
He pours his golden pieces at her will,
Whose shameful praise he publishes abroad
With mighty sounding titles. Now she is
"Queen of the half of Amber." (mark that 'half'!
A princess waits at Marwar!) Now her face
Gleams from his coin new struck, or else alive
Scowls from the *howdah* of his elephant.
Now he hath bid his chieftains at her feet
Do homage as she were a lawful queen,
Humbling the blood of Amber. One by one
They toss their heads and leave him. Day by day
His kingdom weakens—nay, 't is tottering.
He must awake, and quickly, lest he find
Its ruin all around him and his shame.

Sindhia—

Wise men withdraw before the tower's collapse.
Farewell, Pokurna!

(*Preparing to go he encounters Jagat Singh and Rascaphoor entering, and adds, salaaming low*)

Lion of the World!

Jagat Singh—

What Sindhia, trusty chief ! To leave our tent
Were scarcely gracious, till to Rascaphoor,
Queen of half Amber, thou hast bowed the knee.

Rascaphoor—

Well said, beloved ! Shew thy claws at him.
These haughty chieftains must be put to school.

Sindhia (drawing himself up)—

I prithee, Prince of Amber, pardon me.
Essence of camphor is not to my taste.

Rascaphoor—

Insolent ! Jagat, place him in arrest.

Jagat—

My Queen, 'tis Sindhia, the Maharatta chief.

Rascaphoor—

And who is Sindhia ? Art afraid of him ?

Jagat—

Nay, nay, my Queen, be patient. Sowae Singh
No doubt will counsel us.

Sowae Singh—

I would reserve
My counsel for more grave emergency,
In which to-day we find us, Majesty.

Rascaphoor—

The fool ! He is no better. His long tongue
Is like a serpent twisting round a tree.
He fain would sunder us, and set thee by.
Dhonkul hath done no homage, but he shall.

Sowae—

Dhonkul is king of Marwar, and to none
In Rajasthan owes homage. But 'tis now
More grave a matter that demands the ear
Of Amber's ruler. Prince, there is ill news.
We may not hide from thee. The force despatched
For the defence of Jeypur is destroyed
By Amir Khan.

Jagat—

The traitor!

Sowae—

Jeypur town
Lies at his mercy. To its very base
The throne of Amber trembles.

Jagat—

Rama's wounds!
What can I do?

Sowae—

Break up this luckless siege,
And march to give him battle.

Jagat—

What! forego
For this the wedding-feast at Oodipur?

Rascaphoor—

O false and fickle one! 'Twas yester eve
We dreamed of ours in Amber's capital.

Sowae—

Fight first and do the feasting afterwards,
Else from thy feast will wind thy funeral.
On Jeypur, Highness, we should march to-night.

Rascaphoor—

Then shall we hear at least no further talk
Of faithless wedding-rites at Oodipur.
I weary of waiting in this doleful place.

Sowae—

Well spoken, Madam. Sire, there is no choice.

Jagat—

Why have I been so long in darkness kept,
As though our plans went smoothly? We had looked
To reap rich harvest, to be covered o'er
With martial glory, take our fill of love,
And spend our reign in calm prosperity.
Too sudden comes this news of sore defeat,
May be 'tis painted darker than the truth
By the deft brush of sly diplomacy,
To serve thy purposes and get us hence.

Enter a messenger. On bended knee he presents a letter to Jagat Singh.)

agat (*reading*)—

"From the Queen Mother to the King's own hand.
Jeypur is fallen. Come redeem thy loss.
Hearken no longer unto Sowae Singh."

owae—

Whose very counsel is repeated here.

agat—

By Sita, 'tis enow to make one weep.
To Jeypur thus when I had looked to make
Triumphal entry as her hero king,
Laurelled with glory, through her festal streets,

And garlanded with roses. Now to brave
The dangers of the long and tedious road
Where any time we may be set upon
By foes that wait our coming every day
To find our forces weakened, and our friends
Lightly forsaking us, and when at last
The walls of Jeypur frown upon our view
To find no arms outstretched to welcome us,
But biting blows of battle-axe and sword,
And cannon belching slaughter all around—
O Sowae Singh, is there no help for it?

Sowae—

None, Lion of the World, unless thou wilt
Renounce thy kingdom and depart in peace.

Jagat—

Nay, nay, I should be murdered, and besides
What would become of Amber? I will go—
If needs be, I will go for Amber's sake,
And march on Jeypur, turning a deaf ear
To all your coward counsels. I will go.
Yet must I have protection by the way.
Thou, Sindhia, wilt supply it and escort
The king of Amber to his capital.

Sindhia—

The king of Amber! For that title, prince,
Hard fighting lies before thee. What have I
To gain by succouring thy helplessness?

Rascaphoor—

Ah, that I ne'er had lived to see this shame!
Jagat, thou hast deceived me! Thou hast called
Me "Queen of half of Amber"—empty name

Now Jeypur hath surrendered! Emptier still
Those fine professions of thy love for me
When thou wouldst make a match in Oodipur
And set another queen beside thy throne.

Jagat (*angrily*)—

Woman, torment me not with thy complaints.
Is not my burden hard enow to bear,
But thou must make it harder? Get thee hence
Ne'er yet had woman in our councils voice.

Rascaphoor—

Jagat!
'Tis the first slight from thee on Rascaphoor,
The storm-cloud first to pass across the sun,
Whose rain shall be thy tears of penitence
For thy rough saying. Have I then no voice?
Thou and thy friends shall hear it ere I go.
'T is you I blame for this, ye jackal chiefs,
Ye crafty knaves! I trust not one of ye.
Thou base Mahratta, thou hadst ne'er a soul
To pay the devil for an ounce of gold,
And hadst thou one, wouldst cheat him out of it.
Thou, too, Pokurna's chieftain, Sowae Singh,
False as thou wert to Maun, art false to all
Who to give ear to thee are fools enow.
Yet mark my words, thy game is nearly up,
Nor shall thy low-born foundling, smuggled in
To serve thine own ambition, long beguile
The Lords of Marwar from their loyalty,
To shout for Dhonkul and a threadbare lie.
When thou shalt fall, remember Rascaphoor.

(*Exit.*)

Jagat—

In sooth I weary of her shrewishness.

Sowae—

She is a weight, sweet prince, about thy neck
To drown thee in disaster. For this cause
Thy chieftains leave thee, and a cry is raised
For Jagat's abdication.

Jagat—

Is that sooth?
Then, though she pleases me, she costs too much.
Yet know I not the way to rid myself.

Sowae—

Will arrange it, Highness. Thou shalt ne'er
Set eyes on her reproachful face again.

Jagat—

Do her no hurt.

Sowae—

Fear nothing, Majesty.
Safe to the prison of Nahrgarh she goes
This very night.

Jagat—

And we to Jeypur's gate.
Sindhia, thou wilt not leave us?

Sindhia—

Not until
Thy purse be empty, Highness. Say a sum
Of twenty lakhs. May be 'twould be enough
To make a first instalment. Good, I come.

[*Curtain.*]

(*To be continued*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN BIHAR AND ORISSA[1]

My first words on this occasion must be expressive of my gratitude to you for the enthusiastic welcome you have extended to me, and I shall avail myself of this opportunity to associate myself publicly with your activities and to express my appreciation of the importance and excellence of the work you have achieved. It is now nearly ten years ago, when proposals were first set on foot for the foundation of a Research Society for Bihar and Orissa, that a distinguished scholar expressed to me grave doubts as to the wisdom of the intended course. He maintained that India needed no new institutions for the promotion of research in the field of Indian culture; he even hinted that though the newly created province might require a tribunal for the administration of justice and an institution for the spread of high education, the plans for a new Research Society could be justified only as inspired by feelings of provincial exclusiveness. I emphatically repudiated what seemed to me a radically erroneous notion. I maintained —and my conviction has grown stronger with the lapse of years —that Bihar and Orissa had a special claim to organise a Research Society.

What student of history, on his first visit to the site of the once renowned city of Pāṭaliputra, can restrain his memory and refuse to be carried away to the remote past associated with this hallowed ground? What Delhi was to India in the Mahomedan period, what Calcutta was to India till recent years under British rule, Pataliputra was to India in pre-Moslem times, namely, the Imperial city of Bhāratavarṣa. Historians tell us that Pāṭaliputra, though a small village in the days of Gautama Buddha, rapidly acquired strategic importance. Bimbisāra, king of Rājagṛiha, extended his dominions till they reached the river Ganges which separated his kingdom from that of the Lichchhavis, an oligarchic state then flourishing at Vesāli or modern Basarh. Ajātaśatru, who succeeded his father Bimbisāra, decided with boundless ambition to bring the Lichchavis under subjugation; to achieve this purpose, he not only fortified Pāṭaligrāma, but sent his Brahmin ministers to sow the seeds of dissension in Vesāli. The Lichchhavis soon fell a prey to intrigue, lost their independence, and the kingdom of Magadha was extended still further in all directions. Udayabhadra, the son of Ajātaśatru, could not but seek for a central capital for his rich inheritance and removed his seat of government to Pāṭaligrāma, which admirably suited his purpose and thenceforth attained fame as Pāṭaliputra. The fascinating story of the growth of this tiny Magadha State, which slowly but surely absorbed the adjoining monarchies and developed into an empire in the time of the Nandas, is one of the most romantic episodes in the history of ancient India, and you are all familiar with its steady expansion by annexations when the Empire fell under the sway of Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty. The inevitable, however, came to pass, the empire of the Mauryans decayed, and they were supplanted by the Suṅgas, who were in their turn replaced by the Kāṇvas. But though dynasties flourished, dominated and disappeared, Pāṭaliputra continued to be the capital, till the imperialism of ancient India received a serious set-back from the inroads of the Bactrian Greeks. During this period of foreign invasions, no trace of a dynasty of Indian origin, exercising supreme authority in Northern India, can be discovered, till we reach the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era when we find the paramount power vested in the Guptas. With this revival of Indian imperialism, Pāṭaliputra regained its position and prestige as the capital city of an empire; but the respite from disorder and tumult was transitory, for before the lapse of a century and a half, foreign hordes which devastated the country and swept everything before them, began to pour into India. This proved fatal to the position of Pāṭaliputra as an imperial city, and though after the extinction of the Gupta power, the town did not lose all its importance but continued from time to time to be the chief city of a small kingdom, such as that of the Pāla dynasty, it never rose again to the dignity of the capital of a mighty empire.

---

[1] An address delivered by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, at the Government House Patna, on the 15th March 1924, at the Annual Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, under the Presidentship of His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, Governor of Bihar and Orissa, and Patron and President of the Society.

I have referred thus far to the eminence of Pāṭaliputra in the political sphere in ancient India. But, as may be expected, political and intellectual supremacy, went hand in hand, and Pāṭaliputra occupied a unique, and unrivalled, position in the sphere of literature even in the days of remote antiquity. In India, as in other civilized countries, the prosperity and progress of *belles lettres* have been dependent in a large measure upon royal patronage; and Pāṭaliputra, the seat of imperial Government, became the nursery of poets and artists. An early tradition, not by any means of doubtful veracity, informs us that Varsha, Upavarsha, Pāṇini, Piṅgala, Śilabhadra, Vyāḍi, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, who have been immortalised as profound exponents of such abstruse sciences as Grammar, Prosody and Poetics, were tested and appraised here in the assemblies of the learned. One of the greatest intellects of this period—who has indeed been claimed as one of the most commanding figures in the world-history of political thought,—was Kauṭilya, who flourished in the Court of Chandragupta. In a very different sphere of human activity, we come across the poet Subandhu who, as the Avantisundarīkathā of Daṇḍin tells us, was imprisoned by Bindusāra, the son of Chandragupta, but was released when the captor was captivated by the story of Vāsavadattā. It is a moot point with historians of Sanskrit literature, whether this story of Vāsavadattā composed by Subandhu, is identical with the Ākhyāyikā of Vāsavadattā mentioned by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya. But I must not detain you long with a review of the literary activities of those bygone days; I shall only remind you that Indian art also, if not actually created, was vigorously encouraged through the patronage of the paramount sovereigns of Pāṭaliputra. The most conspicuous amongst them in this as in other fields was Aśoka, who gave a lithic form to the architecture of India and thereby left on it the ineffaceable impress of his mighty intellect. Well may it be maintained that in the past, at any rate, the genius of this place manifested itself in diverse forms of the activities of civilised man and that what was once a centre of political power, a centre of learning, a centre of art, is yet worthy to be a centre of research.

It must be obvious to the most superficial observer that a province which has thus witnessed the rise and fall of successive dynasties must abound in monuments of high antiquity, which serve as so many links in the chain of the history of civilisation. You have the ancient sites of Vaiśālī (Basarh), the capital of the Lichhavis; Rājagṛiha (Rajgir), the old capital of Magadha; Nālanda, the seat of the celebrated University of Mediæval India where Mahāyāna Buddhism was studied and expounded; Champā, the capital of ancient Aṅga; Mudgagiri (Monghyr), a capital of the Pāla dominions; and, above all, Gayā, where Gautama Buddha attained the supreme enlightenment in his quest for the Eternal Truth. The remains of ancient civilisation, however, do not lie on the surface, and are only rich mines for excavation. Vaiśālī and Nālanda have already yielded up many of their treasures, which are interesting as well from the historical as from the artistic standpoint. The work of excavation at Vaiśālī appears to have been abandoned, temporarily at least, on grounds not intelligible to laymen; while the site of Nālanda which still continues to be exploited by the Archæological Department under the guidance of its distinguished Director, Sir John Marshall, is likely to rival, in respect of variety and richness of finds, one of its remote predecessors, I mean, the ancient Takshaśilā (Taxila), the seat of another famous University. Huge collections of minor antiquities, principally bronze and copper images and seals, are now available for inspection at Nālanda. But I venture to think that the most interesting of those finds is a large copper-plate of King Deva Pāla, which records the building of a monastery and grant of villages by the ruler at the instance of Śrī Balaputra Deva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa, the grandson of the king of Yavabhūmi. If the interpretation put forward with some plausibility be ultimately accepted, namely, that Yavabhūmi is Java and Suvarṇadvīpa is Sumatra, this copper-plate inscription may open up questions of international interest in the ninth century of the Christian era. But though Vaisālī and Nālanda may prove to be rich treasure houses, full of relics, precious to all students of ancient Indian History, we cannot overlook that your Province includes other sites equally if not more attractive. Orissa, which is comprised within your jurisdiction, teems with ancient sites and ancient structures,—the wonderful caves of Udayagiri, the magnificent temples of Bhubaneswar, the celebrated rock inscriptions of Aśoka at Dhauli, the religious edifices at Purī and the beautiful temple of the Sun God in the deserted city of Kanarak. These will continue to attract the loving labours of generations of enthusiastic investigators. You must not, at the same time, forget that between Bihar on the north and Orissa on the south, you have vast territory still in a state of relatively primitive grade of civilisation, affording an inexhaustible field for pre-historic studies. Your Province is indeed exceedingly prolific in pre-historic antiquities. Stone and copper implements have been found in abundance, and the idea once prevalent that while neolithic implements exist in central and northern India, paleoliths are confined exclusively to southern India, has now been exploded by the find of pre-historic stone implements in different localities in the valley of the Sanjai river and the banks scoured out by its tributary the Binjai. Of equal, if not greater interest, is the discovery by Mr. Anderson of the existence of pre-historic rock paintings in and near two caves, not far from the Singarpur village in the Raigarh State. In this connection, it is impossible to overlook the Asur sites of Khuntitoli in the Ranchi District which appear to represent at least two different stages of culture, first a neolithic and next a copper-iron age. I trust some member of the Society will explore the problem, whether these Asurs who have recently been identified with the Assyrians, were the predecessors of the Aryans in India, as has been recently maintained by an Indian scholar. The study of these and other survivals of pre-historic culture cannot be dissociated from a study of the habits and customs of the primitive tribes and peoples who still abound in your territory in various stages of civilisation. Ethnology is the handmaiden of Anthropology, and both are indispensable for a proper appreciation of History; an accurate description of these aboriginal tribes, their religious beliefs, their social customs, their clan organisation, cannot fail to illuminate many a dark corner in the history of our past.

I trust, I have stated enough to convince even confirmed sceptics that Sir Edward Gait, the cultured administrator and the accomplished founder of your institution wisely made his choice when he decided upon a Research Society for Bihar and Orissa. The work which has been carried out during the last nine years, tested by the most exacting standards, amply justifies the labours of all who have unselfishly worked for your welfare. As an humble student of your Journal, I have always felt that you have created and maintained a tradition for excellence. We all acknowledge with gratitude that in the field of Indology European scholars have been the pioneers, though they have had many worthy successors amongst Indians. But I venture to contest the assertion that indigenous scholars in ages past invariably lacked the sense of historical accuracy. I recall that Kalhaṇa, the historian of Kashmir, proclaimed that "by looking into the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples, by looking into the grants of land by former kings, by looking into laudatory inscriptions and manuscripts, is overcome the tedium of historical errors." The idea, thus formulated, might not have been realised by the successors of Kalhaṇa to the same extent as by scholars from abroad who have had the advantage of detachment, so invaluable to all who are called upon to explore, appraise, criticise and expound the civilisation of a kindred race. Professor Sylvain Lévi in the course of an address on Ancient India delivered not long ago before the University of Calcutta, maintained with good reason that India had in course of time forgotten her greatest sons and that Europe had given her back Buddha, Asoka and Aśvaghoṣa. The list could have been easily lengthened by the inclusion of other triumphs of European scholarship in the domain of Indian history. Who knew half a century ago the names of Samudragupta, Karṇa-kalachuri, Khāravela and Bahasatimitra; yet they are now familiar figures to the famous schoolboy of Macaulay, thanks chiefly to the critical method of historical research revived by scholars from the West. Brahminical literature, notwithstanding its vast extent, supplies not a word about Samudragupta, that prince of culture, learned in all the wisdom of the Brahmins, the ambitious soldier full of the joy of battle, that antithesis of the pietist spirit of Aśoka, great not in peace but in war, holding an empire over the entire range of the Indian continent and entering a sacrificial protest of orthodox imperialism on the peace pillar of Aśoka. But stone has revealed the history of Samudragupta; while metal has supplied his portrait, the majestic tall figure seated on his couch of State, playing the lyre, a high forehead, sunken cheeks, a dominating nose and huge head. Karṇa-kalachuri, the Hindu Napoleon of the eleventh century, to use the graphic phrase of Mr. Jayaswal, stood as the symbol of bravery and victory amongst his contemporaries, the great master of the constitutional sacerdotal law, and the greatest builder of his century. The magnificent toraṇas of Rewa testify to his state, and he is recorded to have built a hexagonal temple twelve-stories high called Karṇa's Meru—all this has been recalled to life by the method of Kalhaṇa. Stone has again yielded a complete record, full of faithful details, of the Emperor Khāravela of Orissa, whose name had disappeared from the annals of our country and passed into complete oblivion, though there was hardly a great town in India in the second century before the Christian era which did not tremble at the sight, if not at the very name, of his mighty legions. In this very capital, his elephants crossed over from Hajipur and rested in the imperial grounds of the famous Palace Sugang. Similarly, stone and brick, coin and paper have responded to the call of the historian and have furnished us with a picture of the policy and deeds of Bahasati Puṣyamitra. It would have been inexplicable, if with such a promising field of investigation, so successfully explored here and there, your members had not felt inspired to swell the rank of explorers. I do not consequently feel surprised when on a critical study of the contents of successive volumes of your Journal I come across contributions of the highest value to the advances of our knowledge in almost every department of Ancient Indian History, in chronology, epigraphy, numismatics, architecture, sculpture, philology, sociology and jurisprudence.

The task of restoration of history of our country necessarily implies the reconstruction of our chronology; you cannot pile up a magnificent edifice till you have erected the scaffolding, however tedious the task and ungainly the sight. It was thus in the fitness of things that in the very first issue of your Journal, Mr. Jayaswal contributed a paper on Śaiśunāga and Maurya chronology, which re-arranged the dates of events between the accession of Chandra Gupta and the birth of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. On a collation and reconciliation of Jaina, Buddhist and Brahminical data, he arrived at the conclusion that the traditional date current in Ceylon (554 B.C.) for the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha must be adopted in preference to the date hitherto accepted by Western scholars, namely, 487 B.C. It was a triumph for the author that such recognised authorities as Dr. Vincent Smith and Dr. Berreidale Keith have acknowledged the correctness of this view and have adopted the new date with full acknowledgment. We have thus secured at any rate one fixed polar date for Indian chronology. Mr. Jayaswal has been equally successful in his attempt to fix the date of the battle of Kurukshetra and thereby to ascertain the precise position of the Pradyotas in the Pauranic chronology. Mr. Pargiter has acknowledged the value of this novel historical and political interpretation of the Kaliyuga era, which, in the estimation of the early historians of India, meant the advent of a new political condition fundamentally distinct in character from the past which ended in their eyes with the termination of the Great War of the Indian world of that age. In the region of epigraphy, that branch of historical research which has removed the impressions of the seals written in forgotten and mysterious letters and unlocked the gates of the past, our attention is arrested by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Emperor Khāravela. The inscription, which was recorded in the second century before the Christian era, embodies a biography of the king of Orissa from his infancy to the thirteenth year of his reign and the thiry-seventh year of his life. The inscription, chiselled on the face of a rock, has been known and studied for a century since its first discovery by Stirling in 1825; and the numerous historical data furnished thereby have been recognised as of first rate importance, as they include references to the contemporary king of Magadha, the Greek king at Mathurā, the fortress of Gorathagiri (Barabar Hills) Rājagṛiha, the Ganges Places at Pāṭaliputra and King Sātakarṇi of the Deccan. Mr. Jayaswal has now re-edited and reinterpreted this inscription from a personal study on the spot and his achievement has evoked an enthusiastic appreciation from scholars of such varied attainments as Dr. Vincent Smith, Sir George Grierson, Prof. Lanman and Dr. Sten Konow. Numerous and fruitful have been the consequential studies based on this reinvestigation of what, in the long array of Brāhmī inscriptions, can be placed, next to the edicts of Aśoka, in the same category only with the fourth century inscription of Samudragupta. Mention need alone be made of the re-arrangement of the Suṅga list, the identification of their coins (known till then as the Mitra coins) and the settlement of the chronology of the Sātavāhana kings. It would not be fair to pass over in silence the work of the same accomplished scholar, whom my University was the first to discover, if I may be permitted to say so without impropriety—in the never-ending task of the revision and translation of the edicts of Aśoka. It is the legitimate pride of English scholars—foremost amongst them James Prinsep—to have deciphered the forgotten script of those Kingly Proclamations which have no parallel in the annals of the civilised countries of the world. What emotions move me when I felt that it was in this very town that Aśoka himself composed his sublime message, his ennobling legacy to posterity—"make conquest by morality and not by the sword." It is a privilege to live in an age when this message of Asoka has been re-discovered, re-read, re-interpreted after the oblivion of a millennium. It is a privilege, proud and pious, of individual scholars to solve and interpret the text of a message which will be treasured up by humanity through ages yet unborn.

Let us pass on for a moment to architecture and sculpture with reference to the site of Nālanda where excavations have been in progress during the last six years. These discoveries make a powerful appeal to me, indicative of the position which your archæological monuments occupy in the history of the development of Indian art, and their supreme importance from this point of view can scarcely be exaggerated. The monastery of which five successive strata have been exposed to view has yielded on the terrace of the lowermost layer a wealth of bronzes, carvings in stone and plasters, which furnish the long-missing link between sculptures of the Gupta and the Pāla periods. The bronzes, especially, are of the highest artistic quality, and the small figure of the Buddha inlaid with silver deserves to take a place amongst the masterpieces of Indian art. The excavation has further laid bare a hall barrel-vaulted with radiating arches. Another feature that sheds light on the art of ornamentation has been brought to light by the four sides of the base of a Chaitya Hall where, in alternating panels, have been strung together mythological figures and geometrical devices. These and many other traits of ancient Indian art and architecture, revealed to us by the Nālanda excavations, have a surprising value even from the standpoint of the most prosaic and inartistic student of Indian History whose soul cannot be penetrated by the luminous rays of Indian art. Not long ago, it was asserted with confidence that India did not know the principle and practice of the radiating arch before the advent of her Muhammadan conquerors. The vault of the Hall I have mentioned has demolished this favourite theory. This is strongly corroborated by a stone discovered by Mr. Jayaswal in the Darga ground at Patna and now on view in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Experts, including your talented Chief Engineer Mr. Bishun Swarup, have supported the view that this stone which is inscribed with Brāhmī letters presumably of a pre-Mauryan date, was nothing but a vous-soir or an arch stone. I shall never forget the keen interest, almost akin to excitement, which was caused at the Oriental Conference in Calcutta when Mr. Jayaswal announced that the art of making true arches goes back to Maurya times and that the arched rooms in the Barabar Caves really contain replicas of arches in brick and stone. This finds full corroboration from the Nālanda rooms which disclose the same details and characteristics. Again, it used to be asserted with full confidence, not so very long ago, that the pattern *ad infinitum* sharply cut in light and shade was one of the outstanding contributions of Islamic art to India. But the geometrical devices in the Chaitya Hall at Nālanda, which belong to the sixth century of the Christian era at the latest, prove that this system of ornamentation had developed itself, that this method of carving had almost reached perfection, in ancient India, long before she came under the influence of Islamic civilisation. I have no time to dwell on the true import of other discoveries made at Nālanda. But let me add that the modern visitor when he approaches the walls of the remains of the monasteries which have been unearthed feels as if he was about to enter a modern first class edifice; the brick, the joining, the smooth facing, the beautiful stucco figures, all combine to create an illusion which disappears, only when he is told that these are remnants of the old wall, possibly the identical structures which evoked the piety and admiration of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chuang.

It is impracticable within the time at my disposal to make even a passing reference to the many thought-provoking papers which have found a place in your Journal. The intrinsic value of a paper cannot always be judged by the space it occupies, and there are brief contributions which may play the part of the pebble and the brickbat in the hands of the master builder of the future. No detail, seemingly insignificant and fragmentary, can be safely ignored by the student of history. Take, for example, the discovery by my late lamented friend Mr. Charles Russell and its publication by Mr. Jackson, of the one-word inscription 'Gorathagiri' on the Barabar Hills. Without this contribution, the interpreter of the Hāthigumphā chronicle, whatever his natural acuteness and intuitive insight, could not have elucidated the passage about the fortress of Gorathagiri and the siege thereof by the army of Khāravela. To this class of fundamentally important work belong the Janibigha epigraph, the Orissa copper-plates, the Tezpur Rock, the Maner Copper-plate, the seal of Bhāskaravarman and other like documents mentioned in contributions to your Journal, too numerous to specify. Nor am I able to make more than a passing reference to the interesting discussion which was provoked by the theory propounded by Mr. Jayaswal in respect of the two Patna Statues now deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. He is in this happy position that the scholars who refuse to accept his conclusions are not able to refute them. It is a matter for congratulation, however, that apart from controversy, friendly or acrimonious, these statues along with those of Parkham and Besnagar and the fragments found at Dildarganj by Dr. Spooner and Professor Samaddar have formed the subject of artistic studies, while a new statue with pre-Mauryan or Mauryan Brāhmī inscriptions has been discovered by Mr. Jayaswal at Sonauth in the district of Mathurā.

In the domain of Philological studies, your Society has important work to its credit. Dr. Anantaprasad Banerjee, a descendant of the great Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, and sometime Lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of the University of Calcutta, has grappled with the Māgadhī problem. His papers on Bhāsa and on Dramatic Māgadhī are of considerable interest, and he has now tackled the obscure, if not insoluble, question which faces us in the Yogimara Cave inscription. His elaborate paper, full of new suggestions, brings out in a clearer light the innate difficulties of the problem; and it is not a matter for surprise that what excited the curiosity and baffled the acumen of Bloch, Lüders, Fleet, Boyer and Jayaswal still awaits solution. On the other hand, the remarkable paper of Pandit Ramavatar Sarma on Sanskrit lexicography, the studies in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana by Mr. Haranchandra Chakladar, and the papers on the Lost Ring of Śakuntalā and Puranic divisions of India by Mr. Surendranath Majumdar cannot but arrest the attention of the reader. In Numismatics, a subject erroneously regarded as obscure and uninteresting, you have very valuable contributions from Mr. Walsh and Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjee. As Patna has been the imperial seat for centuries, there is no reason why you should not make a speciality in this direction and secure a representative collection of Sunga, Andhra, Kushan, Gupta and later coins.

In the department of History you have an array of valuable papers which might justly excite the admiration of older societies. The History of Orissa by the late Mr. Manmohan Chakrabarti, who ungrudgingly devoted himself, amidst engrossing official duties, to spade work like a missionary of scholarship, will be recalled for many a year to come. The notes on the Bhañja Dynasty and the Orissa sketches by Mr. Bijoychandra Majumdar are models of impartial and painstaking investigation.

The papers on Sivaji, Jehangir and Auranzeb from the pen of a veteran scholar like Professor Jadunath Sarkar, and his reconstruction of the History of Orissa from Persian sources do not stand in need of commendation. The papers on Kinship in Ancient India, on Industrial and Trading Organisation in Ancient India and on the Economic History of Early India by Professor Jogindranath Samaddar bear witness to his persistent energy which nothing can extinguish. On the other hand the paper on Town Planning by Dr. Ganganath Jha, and the papers on Textile Industry and Sugar Industry in Ancient India by Mr. Jogeschandra Ray indicate the wide range of your activities. The valuable contributions by Messrs. Haraprasad Sastri and Dr. Romes Chandra Majumdar prove conclusively that the activities of scholars cannot be restricted within the five-mile territorial limit of their University. Professor Horne who has examined the History of the first English Factory in Patna and Mr. Hill who has contributed a memoir on Major Knox, bring us nearer to our own times, but their work is not, on that account, any the less interesting than that of the explorers of the remote past. In the domain of Ethnology and Anthropology, my friend Mr. Saratchandra Ray has established a monopoly, which, notwithstanding occasional incursions by Mr. Crooke, Mr. Saratchandra Mitra and Mr. Girindranath Sarkar, has not yet been successfully infringed to an appreciable extent.

Apart from what may be comprised in the category of original investigations, your Journal includes publications of considerable importance to the student of Indian History. Reference may be made in this connection to the Pārijātaharaṇa of Umāpati Upādhyāya, which was discovered by Sir George Grierson while he was the Sub-Divisional Officer of Madhubani in 1879 and has now been published by him. We further look forward to Prākṛita Sarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya from Sir George Grierson and the Rājanīti Prakāśa of Chandeswar from Mr. Jayaswal. You have also published a version of the Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh of Maharaja Kalyan Singh who negotiated the epoch-making grant of the Dewani as agent of the East India Company. His account of the Nazims of Bengal from the reign of Zafarkhan is a valuable contemporary historical record of the same class as the Seir Mutaqherin of Golam Hossain. His vivid description of dramatic incidents,—how he secured the concession for the British Company, what he paid for it, how he was rewarded, how triumphantly he was laid on the back of an elephant in the town of Patna, all these serve to infuse life into his chronicle, which is written in a style worthy of the best Mahomedan historians whose tradition he faithfully preserved in the composition of his work. I notice further that you have published a portion of the invaluable Journals of Francis Buchanan from the precious originals in the India Office Library, and I trust, I may be permitted to throw out a suggestion for another undertaking in a similar line. It would be in the fitness of things if your Society could publish a complete edition of all the contributions of that modest scholar, Principal James McCrindle, who devoted his life in this very place to the study of the action and re-action of Greece and India, the two nations of antiquity which attained the pinnacle of greatness in the domain of intellect. The works of Principal McCrindle, carefully edited and brought up to date in the light of modern research, would be welcomed by scholars, and their publication would not, I feel convinced, be financially impossible.

I cannot conclude my observations on your contributions without some reference to the discovery of the Sanskrit judgment by Mr. Jayaswal, who, for once, has here united the functions of the antiquarian and the jurist. This remarkable document made manifest to us how suits were tried, how issues were framed, how adjournments were noted, how pleadings were discussed, how authorities were quoted and distinguished, how legal and logical principles were applied to concrete fact and how the decree was ultimately passed. The judgment when pronounced was signed by the Chief Judge and was countersigned by the Sabhyas, that is, the other members of his Court. The publication of his remarkable specimen of judicial decision in this country in pre-British days, deservedly excited curiosity and attracted notice in learned circles here as elsewhere; and Dr. Julius Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Würzburg and sometime Tagore Professor of Law in the University of Calcutta, placed on record his appreciation of the importance of the discovery. That veteran historian of Hindu Law further invited attention to a Javanese Jayapatra or "Letter of Victory" which showed, that the jayapatra drafted in Mithilā, like the jayapatra drafted thousands of miles away in a Hindu colony beyond the seas, followed a traditional well-set line. Mr. Jayaswal, however, has not yet been able to discover, whether in pre-British times we enjoyed the benefits of interminable series of reports of judicial decisions, official, semi-official, non-official which assist the advocate in his search after arguments and embarrass the judge in his search after truth. But there is another notable find which will delight the student of Hindu Law. Mithilā has been the home of one of the recognised systems of that law, and it is not surprising that when at the instance of Sir William Jones, the Governor General in Council sanctioned the preparation of a Digest of Hindu Law, arrangements were made to record the law as administered under the Bengal School and under the Mithilā School. Jagannath Tarkapanchanan was appointed to compile the Digest for Bengal, while Sarvoru Trivedi was entrusted with the preparation of the Digest for Bihar. The digest of Jagannath was translated into English by Colebrooke and still survives as a monument of his vast erudition and extraordinary acumen. The digest of Trivedi which was never translated faded from human memory and its manuscript has been only recently recovered from his descendants. This, like the treatise on Hindu politics composed by the famous Mithila lawyer Chandeswar Thakur will, we trust, see the light at no distant date, under the editorship of Mr. Jayaswal.

The discovery of these manuscripts remind me of the rich treasures that lie hidden in your Province, a veritable storehouse of literary relics of the past. In the Puri District alone, at least two hundred thousand palm-leaf manuscripts are reported to exist, while Tirhoot abounds in large collections of manuscripts as well in the libraries of great nobles as in the humble abodes of the Pandits. A systematic survey should be organised, and thorough search for these manuscripts carried out before priceless treasures are destroyed by the ravages of time.

We rejoice to think, however, that in the domain of Moslem learning, at any rate, the task of preservation of manuscripts has already been taken well in hand by the farsighted wisdom and munificent liberality of a private citizen, my revered friend the late Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, whose life-long passion was to acquire and store all varieties of manuscripts with tact and vigilance, regardless of considerations of health or money. I can still recall the thrill of pleasure I felt on the occasion of my first visit years ago to the Khuda Bukhsh Library, where you find enshrined a unique and invaluable collection of materials sufficient to occupy many generations of workers. On the life of the Prophet, you have Zad-ul-Ma' ad of Ibn Qyyam—a priceless gem, nowhere else to be found. On Hadith, the library possesses a unique collection. No less striking is its historical collection; to mention a few: you have the famous history of Zahabi, the works of Ibn Asakir, Subki, Ibn Hazin, Samani, Yaqut. What a splendid catalogue; each a scholar's joy, a collector's pride. Have you not abundance of Light? Only, alas if you would follow light. In Law, too, the Library can win an easy first. It is the proud possessor of Ibn Hazin's work on Jurisprudence—a work of which no other copy exists elsewhere. Equally conspicuous is the collection in science. Nor is the collection of medical works less distinguished, Zahravis' work on Surgery—if published would, doubtless, rob Europe of many of its boasted invention of surgical instruments. All this is delightful to hear. It sends a thrill of joy in us—the residents of Patna, we will say. But could you not suggest some lines of study? If you were to ask me this question it would be a legitimate and pertinent question. Yes, I have suggestions to offer to you. In this connection, the first thing that comes to my mind is the Pre-Islamite Arabia. Caussion de Percevel and Wellhausen have done a great deal to lift the veil; but I venture to maintain that they have not said the last word, much less have they fully exploited the field. It is still, if I may say so, a virgin soil. Could you not bestow your attention on this? But a still more fascinating subject is the 'Social condition under the Caliphate.'

Here there is no lack of guides. Apart from the poets—Farazdaq, Jarir, Abu Nawas and others of lesser note—we have the stupendous Kitabul Aghani, a veritable mine of information. It is the monumental work of Abul Faraj-ul-Isphani and can be most usefully utilized for a portrait of the social and political conditions under the Caliphate.

Take another subject equally moving, the influence of Byzantine Law and Theology on Islam. Nor shall I omit one subject which has always attracted me—the history of Muslim politics and Muslim administration. Flugel first dealt with this subject, so far as I am aware, but since then it has lain neglected. Only recently Professor Mez has thrown a flood of new light on it, but neither Flugel nor Mez is accessible to those that know not German. Disciples of Plato and Aristotle, the Muslim thinkers were the forerunners of Hobbes and Locke and other European publicists of later times. Witness the works of Mawardi and Ibn Jama'a ; I am not forgetting Al-Farabi but he belongs to an older generation. I shall not dwell further on the monumental collection in the Khuda Bukhsh Library as a mine of information and store-house of learning. In every branch of Islamic study rich, I should say, unique is its collection. Could you not then make this Library the seat and centre of Islamic research ? How tempting is the field; how full of promise is the pursuit? In literature, in history, in law, in science, in medicine—in all branches—rich is your treasure, calling for the seeker to come, to unlock it, to distribute it broadcast.

I trust you will not misunderstand my insistence on your co-operation to promote Islamic learning by all means legitimate in your power. Consider for a moment the magnificent achievement of the British and the Continental Universities in this direction. I am not here to institute a comparison between the two systems of research much less to pronounce an opinion upon their respective merits. The outstanding fact remains that they have explored every corner of the domain of knowledge, they have all delved and delved deep. There is not a single subject in which they have not been pioneers, and I feel amazed at their stupendous output. Gooch's "History and the Historians" will bring home to you the debt which history owes to them, and I confess that the recent publication of Pfanmuller's "Handbook of Islamic Literature" has revealed to me the enormous extent of the work done by European scholars in Islamic subjects. Consider, again, what invaluable service has been rendered by Guiri to Islamic scholarship by the publication of his Index; we have only to turn to his pages to get at a glance all the references to any subject which interests us or which we wish to investigate. But while we are sincerely grateful to European scholars for the light they have shed, for the results that have followed their labours as researchers, must we never seek or strive? Must we ever yield the lead and hand over the glory to them? Must we never emulate them, but ever content ourselves with exclamations of admiration?—how glorious their finds, how rapid their extension of the frontier, how all-embracing their additions to the store of knowledge. Let me ask, in no unfriendly spirit, what people can ever hope to enjoy self-respect in this world who are heedless of their past, apathetic to their traditions, indifferent to their own culture? Moslems at one time held aloft the torch of learning. Did they not collect, translate, study and elucidate the works of Greeks, Persians and Hindus? Does not their historian, Masudi, speak with exulting pride of their passion for studies and their devotion to letters? They need surely no other example but their own to urge them on to their sacred but, alas, forsaken duty.

I have made but a slight survey of the work accomplished and have but roughly indicated the task that lies ahead of you. For your success, you require a constant supply of trained and devoted workers. You have now a University of your own. I wish it God-speed. Work in conjunction with your University, develop Post-Graduate study and research, and make it the training ground of the younger generation who will carry on the torch of light when the scholars of the present shall have passed away. For the efficient discharge of your duties, you require further a steady and an adequate supply of funds. You need not despair, so long as His Excellency continues to take a real interest in your work as your Patron and President. We in Bengal have an unfading recollection of what his support of a measure or of an institution meant or signified. You have enlightened and vigilant Ministers who are determined that your Province shall not lag behind in the race. You have many a self-respecting Councillor who, whatever their political opinions, cannot fail to appreciate the importance of a just recognition of our civilised past. Surely, they will generously and warmly support the cause of research. What scope! what possibilities! Workers?—surely they will come if the people need them and the keepers of the public purse encourage them.

Cardinal Newman constantly warned against treating learning as a marketable commodity, and that warning may not be out of place in these days of rushing democracy and devastating socialism. Learning is its own reward, and no people can thrive or survive the wreck of time who love not, cherish not, treasure not learning. Let us give ourselves and set ourselves to do our duty for duty, and a sacred duty it is to study our past, to unearth our treasures, to shed light all around us, and to hand down our heritage richer and greater than it came to us.

THE DECEIVING MIND

My mind, thou art a great deceiver,
  Vain praise of self of thee is born;
The fault that thou in others discover
  Of fault same how shouldst thou be shorn?
In thee what's not, thou ne'er canst see,
—To judge, thou sure the judg'd must be.
Of evils all thou fertile sod;
All sprout not by the grace of God!

UNMIND THE MIND

Grant me this one gift, O Love,
    That I my mind unmind!
This mind is strewn with flotsam foul
    Borne in by traceless wind.
O, why it comes and whence it comes
    —This riddle who will rede?
Unbid it comes, unbid it stays,
    A few gain birth as deeds.
The rest have life as thought alone,
    They die in time as thought
But live or dead they vex my life
    With poison by them brought.
To fight them never a chance have I,
    The mind's their prey, when known,
Of life they be the mystery,
    When coming or when gone.
I am not mind's but mind's of me;
    All foulness floats on Ganges breast,
Foulness comes and foulness goes
    But none from Ganges pureness wrest.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE CALL OF YOUTH

(*...and a little child shall lead them...*)

Lonely I felt and sat me down to write
Of passion unrequited, darkest night,
Love that is scorned and tears that blind the sight.

A ray of sunlight pierced my morbid gloom,
Danced and played pranks within my dreary room
I paused—pen poised—felt my impending doom.

It fell! The laughter of a little child,
The tempting call that comes when youth runs wild,
I dropped my pen and listened! Then I smiled!

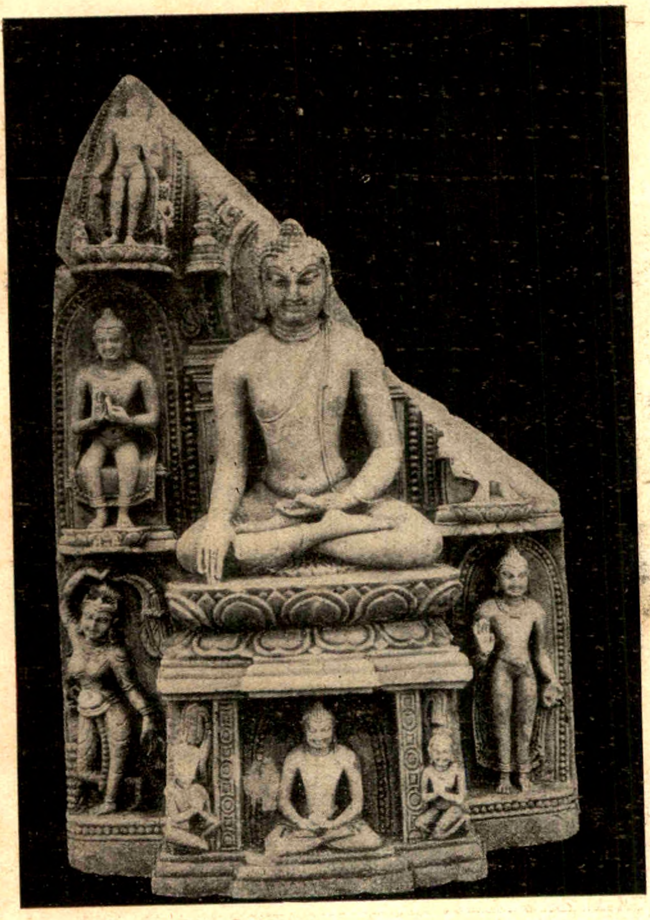
GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

BIOLOGY

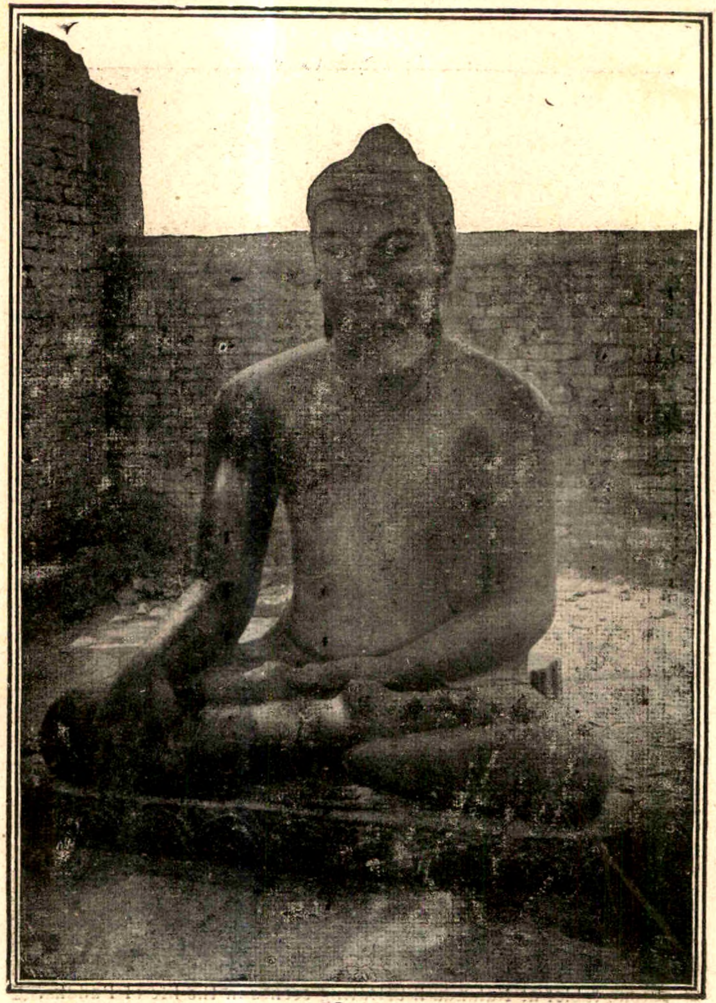
She told me to count the bones of a dead cat;
She told me to memorize their names—
Long Latin names, unintelligible;
She said the examination would require them.
But when she busied herself with her specimens,
I slipped noiselessly out through the aisle,
Down the stairs,
And outdoors.
There I found a brooklet murmuring,
And I heard a robin sing.

WAYNE GARD

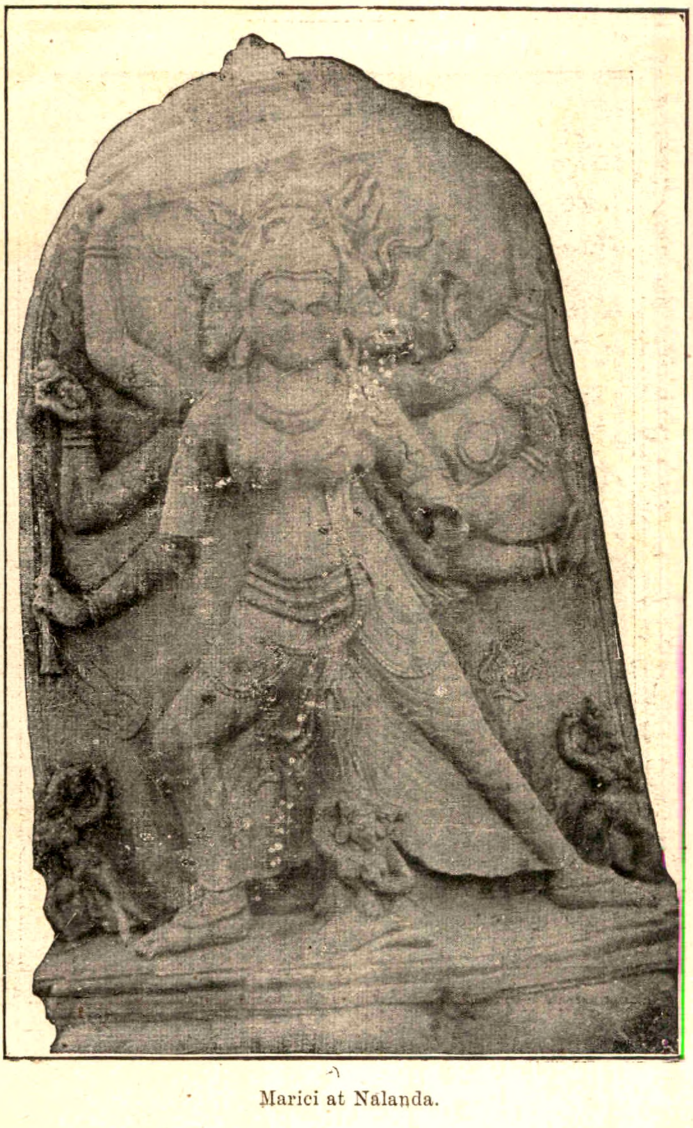
NALANDA



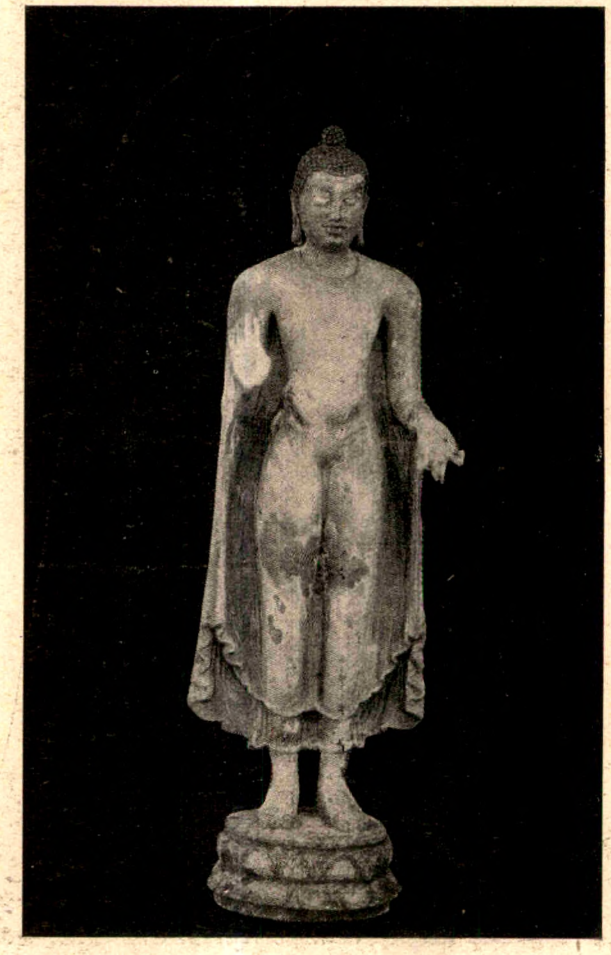
Stone-tablet at Nalanda illustrating scenes in the life of Buddha.



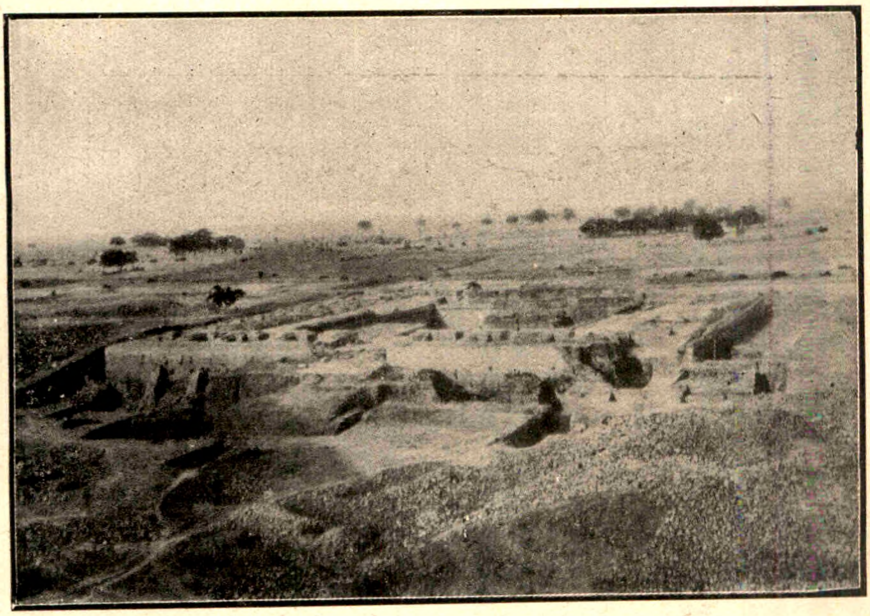
Colossal figure of Buddha at Nalanda.



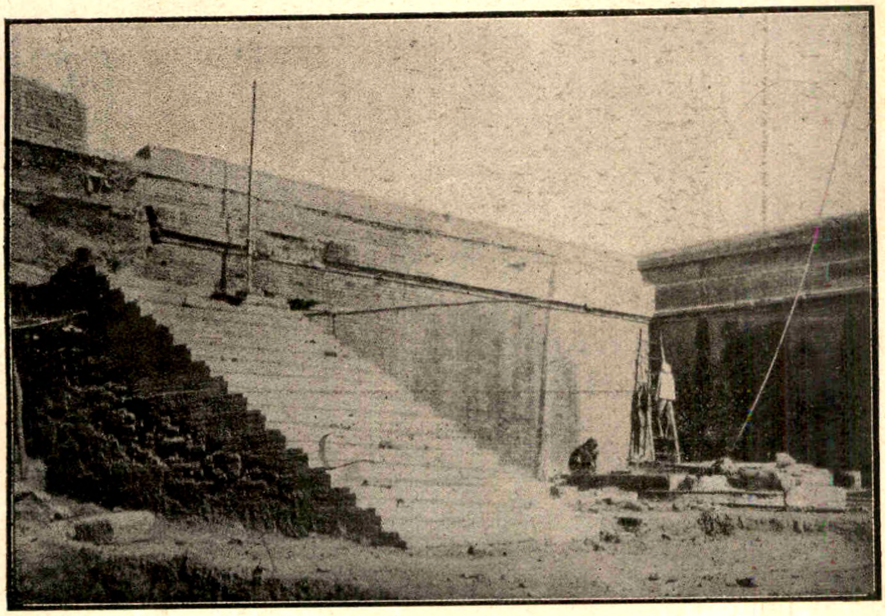
Marici at Nalanda.



Metal image of standing Buddha at Nalanda.



Nalanda : General view.



Courtyard of Monastery at Nalanda.

EVOLUTION OF STATE CONCEPT IN ANCIENT INDIA

II.

We have in the Brāhmaṇa literature a definite idea of a permanent relation between the community and the soil it occupied. This was due to the fact that most of the wandering communities had settled down and tribal names had given rise to place names. We have description of such areas and in the case of Kurukṣetra an account of its boundary.[1] This became prominent perhaps in course of that struggle between superior overlordship and local tribal independence and it is exemplified by the mention of territorial limits not only in the case of the minor princes but also in the case of the suzerain overlord, about whose pretensions we have so much discussion in the Brāhmaṇa literature. Moreover, in the Brāhmaṇa literature we find territorial epithets or appellations attached to the name of princes. One prince Prātīpīya of the Kuru family is described as Bāhlika (Sat. Br. XII, 9. 3. 3.) Another prince Bhīma is called Vaidarbha—because he was the ruler of the Vidarbha region (Ait. Br. VII. 34). Two other princes are called Kāśya (or Prince of the Kāśī region) *e.g.*, Kāśya Dhritrarāstra (Satṣ Br. XIII. 5, 4) and Ajātaśatru —(Brihad, Ār. ii. 1. 1; and Kausi—up. IV. 1). Two other princes Para Ātnara and Hairanyanābha are called Kauśalya (Śatap. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 4; Sam Sr su). Similarly, Mathava is called Videgha (Sat. Br. 1, 4, 1. 10). Such local epithets are applied in the cases of priests and teachers. Thus, one teacher Proti is called Kauśambeya or a native of Kausambi

---

[1] See Pan. Br., XXV.
Sat. Br., IV. 1. 5. 13.
Ait Br., VII. 30.

(V. J. 1. 193), another—Chitra—is called Gangāyani (Kau. up. 1. 1.), another Āsvalāyana is called Kauśalya (Pras. up. 1. 1.), another is called Naimisheya (V. I. p. 460; Kait. Sam. and Pan. Br.).

In the case of the Suzerain the limits of his overlordship covered the whole of the geographical area accessible, which extended from the region of the hills to the sea.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14, 15) describing the Mahābhiṣeka confirms on the suzerain lord the following types of sovereignty:[2]

"He [the Kshathriya thus prays—that he] should attain to leadership, precedence, and supremacy over all kings, and attain everywhere and at all times to universal sovereignty, enjoyment (of pleasure), independence, distinguished distinction as king, the fulfilment of the highest desires, the position of a king, of a great king, and supreme mastership, that he might cross (with his arms) the universe, and become the ruler of the whole earth during all his life which may last for an infinitely long time, that he might be the sole king of the earth up to its shores bordering on the ocean." (Haug's Ait. Br. trans. p. 519.)

Again, in Rājsūya coronation ritual too we find, this importance attached to territory. Thus the king is made to ascend the four quarters, *e.g.*, the North, the South, the East, and the West—symbollic of his supremacy over all these regions.

Other ceremonial observances in the Rājsūya, moreover, appear to be of great interest to us inasmuch as they throw a flood of light on the meaning and interpretation of those symbolic representations in connection with the investment

[2] अहं सर्व्वेषाम् राज्ञां श्रैष्ठ्रम्......साम्राज्यं भौज्यं स्वाराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्रं राज्यं माहाराज्यं आधिपत्यं—अहं समस्तपर्य्ययीस्यां सार्व्वभौमः सार्व्वायुषः आन्तादापरार्द्धं पृथिव्यै समुद्रपर्य्यनुया एकराड्डिति।

of the various elements of the sovereignty, which is vested in the king.

The Rājsūya consisted of a large number of sacrificial performances spreading over more than two years. Beginning with the Pavitra or the opening Agnistoma and ending with the Kṣatradhriti or the wielding of the Royal power, it embraced a large number of these performances, each of which had its real meaning and importance. For the present we shall not take into account the interpretation or importance of some of these—*e.g.*, Pārtha oblations, the Ratna-havimsi, the cow raid, or the act of sprinkling.

Of these only the Abhiṣecaniya claims our present interest. The abhiṣecaniya began with offerings to Agni and Soma and after these offerings were made to

(1) Savitṛ Satya-prasava
(2) Agni Grihapati
(3) Soma Vanaspati
(4) Brihaspati Vākpati
(5) Rudra Paśupati,
(6) Mitra Satya,
(7) Varuṇa Dharmapati.

After this the priest taking hold of the sacrificer said "may Savitri quicken thee for ruling, Agni for householders, Soma for trees, Bṛhaspati for speech, Indra for lordship, Rudra for cattle, Mitra for truth, Vāruṇa for the lord of the law.

The meaning and significance of these ceremonies is apparent. The Prince was invested with sovereignty, and this conferred on him general leadership of the people, full administrative authority, control over house-holders, general superintendence over the plants and animals of the territory (*e.g.*, agriculture and cattle) and with the power of administering the laws as the vice-gerent of Lord Varuṇa, the heavenly Judge *par-excellence*. The king was then sprinkled over by the various representatives of people, Brāhmaṇa, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas, symbolic of their choice and acceptance. He then put on the sacred garment and was invested with the bow and arrow. He then ascended the sacrificial post and turned to the various regions,—*e.g.*, East, West, North, South—the upper and the nether regions—all symbolic of his sovereign authority over everything in those quarters and his supremacy over all men, together with their acceptance and allegiance. The final act of consummation consisted in the king-elect's stepping over the tiger skin, symbolic of his greatness and his conquest over enemies; the uttering of the formulæ by the priest, which made him adaṇdya—immune from judicial punishment. The wooden sacrificial sword, symbolic of his regal and legal authority, was then passed on and then handed over to him. The Brahmin priest then uttered the formulæ identifying the sovereign with Varuṇa of true power—Indra of true power and of might through the people (whose strength lay in his people).

Thus by the time of these Brāhmaṇas, the concept of political sovereignty vested in the head of the State, is complete, though not to an extent which we find in Europe since the days of Bodin. Sovereignty became, as would appear from a consideration of the above points, fully vested in the inaugurated king and was inalienable or indivisible, but not absolute. The headship of the state being conferred on the king, it made him the unquestioned master of the body politic, clothed him with authority to administer its laws, empowered him to wield the rod of punishment, and his person became identified with the body-politic or, as we may call it, the state. But he never became absolute or irresponsible. His will never became law. He became free from the ordinary jurisdiction of his subjects (by being adaṇḍya), but at the same time an oath bound him to rule righteously and a convention existed that he will not transgress the sacred laws and customs —a violation of which made him liable to ejection from the royal office and probably to exile or death.

The Brahmana evidence which throws light on the idea of the state by giving a clue to the nature of sovereign authority shows, moreover, the preponderance of the influence of the religious or moral idea over the political. The intricate maze of ceremonial have all a quasi-religious character. This would appear from the consideration of some of the explanations in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus, in all inaugural ceremonies the Kshattriya Princes must undergo the ceremony which converted the Kṣhatra to the quality of the Brāhmaṇa. In a coronation, too, we find the fiction of the transformation of the prince into the son of the Ritvik. The Rāsṭra-bhrit oblations, offered by princes show the intimate connection between the interests of the community and their moral or religious ideas. The Purohita in the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka stands forth as the mediator between the king and his people on the one hand and between the king and the gods on the other, to whom the Purohita carried his offerings on behalf of the king and the people.

THE EPIC.

Next to the Brāhmaṇas, when we come to the Epic we find a further stage of development. Ideas about the state becomes more definite—its corporate concept comes to the foreground—it comes to be differentiated from the monarch who symbolised in his person the whole of sovereign authority. The latter came to be regarded as only one of the seven elements which constituted the whole state organisation. Moreover, we find a decided tendency toward the separation of politics from religion, and the growth of political speculation.

The corporate idea of the state is apparent from a number of passages. We may here quote a few of them. In chapter 67 Bhisma speaks of the duties of a rāshtra, in answer to Yudhisthira who enquires about these.[1] Bhisma in reply reminds him that the first duty of a state is to elect a leader (king?) since without him, brigands or outlaws may easily assail the community. Moreover, order (moral) does not exist in a state without a leader and anarchy results inasmuch as each tries to devour the other.

Here thus the rāṣṭra stands for something, apart for the king, and apart from the four orders, the men of the community taken as a whole.

In another place again, we are told that the king and the state are to protect each other and this would be regarded as a bounden duty.[2]

Thus the rāṣṭra or the state was something which stood for itself—having a corporate conception and which was differentiated from the common superior who was invested with authority to rule over it. It was conceived, moreover, as being constituted of seven elements and of these the King or the Svāmī was regarded as being of vital importance to the state. They stood in the closest possible relation and could not be separated from each other. In fact, there appears to exist an embyosis of the two *e.g.*, the State and the King. Moreover, to the Epic thinkers the rāṣṭra or rājya was something dissociated from the religious idea, and though traces of its influenee continued to exist, it was masked by the preponderance of an ethical necessity.

It is in the Śāntiparva chapters that we find the real beginnings of speculation about the state—about the origin of

---

[1] चातुराश्रम्यमुक्तं ते चातुर्व्वर्ण्यं तथैव च ।
राष्ट्रस्य यत् कृत्यतमं तन्मे ब्रूहि पितामह ॥
राष्ट्रस्यैतत्कृत्यतमं राज्ञ एवाभिषेचनम् ।
अनिन्द्रमवलं राष्ट्रं दस्यवोऽभिभवन्त्युत ॥
अराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु धर्म्मो न व्यवतिष्ठते ।
परस्परञ्च खादन्ति—सर्व्वथाधिगराजकम् ॥

[2] परस्परं हि संरक्ष्या राज्ञा राष्ट्रेण चापदि ।
नित्यमेव हि कर्त्तव्या एषधर्म्मः सनातन ॥

Sovereignty. In all these political speculation about society or Government, we find the influence of these ethical considerations. Most of the ethic thinkers of the Śāntiparva attribute the origin of State or kingship to the requirements of man. A state of nature is conceived in which man was without a ruler and though some writers especially the author of Santiparvan (ch. 59) regard it as an ideal state, others dwell on the evils arising out of it. The author of Ch. 67 describes it as a state of war in which every man's hand was raised against every other man. The next chapter which extols monarchy, describes in detail the evils of a kingless regime. The following verses are significant and give us a picture of the state of affairs which comes into existence when the king ceases to rule [1]

अराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु धर्म्मो न व्यवतिष्ठते ।
परस्परञ्च खादन्ति सर्व्वथा धिगराजकम् ॥

... ...

अदासः क्रियते दासो ह्रियन्ते च वलात् स्त्रियः ।
एतस्मात् कारणात् देवा प्रजापालान् प्रचक्रिरे ॥

... ...

अराजकाः प्रजाः पूर्व्वं विनेशुरिति नः श्रुतम् ।
परस्परं भक्षयन्तो मत्स्या इव जले कृशान् ॥
राजमूलो महाप्राज्ञ धर्मो लोकस्य लक्ष्यते ।
प्रजा राजभयादेव न खादन्ति परस्परम् ॥

... ...

---

[1] Though it is not appropriate here, we may only mention the two conflicting currents of thought about the state of nature. One of these (*e.g.* Sant., ch. 59) regarded the state of nature as an ideal state of peace and bliss when man lived in peace with his fellow men guided only by the dictates of reason and conscience. The other (in ch. 67) regarded the state of nature as a state of war. Each of these seems to connect itself with a Vedic tradition—one being connected with Prithu, while the other associated with Manu.

यथा ह्यनुदके मत्स्या निराक्रन्दे विहङ्गमाः ।
विहरेयुर्यथाकामं विहिंसन्तः पुनःपुनः ॥

... ...

हरेयुर्वलवन्तोऽपि दुर्व्वलानां परिग्रहान् ।
हन्युर्व्यायच्छमानांश्च यदि राजा न पालयेत् ॥
ममेदमिति लोकऽस्मिन् न भवेत् सम्परिग्रहः ।
न दारा न च पुत्रः स्यान्न धनं न परिग्रहः ॥

... ...

वधवन्धपरिक्लेशो नित्यमर्थवतां भवेत् ।
ममत्वञ्च न विन्देयुर्यदि राजा न पालयेत् ॥

... ...

न विवाहाः समाजा वा यदि राजा न पालयेत् ॥

This gives us perhaps the most vivid description of Mātsyanyāya, which is found throughout the length and breadth of Hindu Political and Social literature. In such a state of affairs the "common superior" the king was the saviour. It was he who administered the laws agreed upon by men among themselves. His action ensured the existence of civil society. He was vitally important to society, and hence monarchy is always lauded and henceforth it became the ideal of Hindu political philosophers. The monarchical state, limited by the rules of the Śāstras, thus became to the Hindus what the city state was to the Greeks.

In addition to this rāṣtra, we have other words to designate the highest political union. In the Epic literature we find the word rājya occurring side by side with the rāṣtra. The word janapada, too, is used in the same sense. One point, however, is noticeable that the word rājya receives general acceptance in designating the political organisation and this is used more often than any other term. This was due in part to the fact that by that time monarchy had gained ground and it was the only form of Government which received general acceptance and approval. The idea of the necessity of a hereditary ruler became closely associated with the political organisation.

The necessity of a king was due, moreover, to protect those institutions and ideals, which existed prior to the creation of his sovereign authority, and which he was best calculated to preserve. Among these may be counted the fundamental institutions of society, the family and private property. Presumably these were best ensured in the hands of a ruler, whose position enabled him to protect these and govern, without any authority which empowered him to destroy these. Heredity ensured the continuance of the traditional system and furthermore with it there was very little chance of sweeping changes, with the changing will of the multitude. The revolutionary changes which might be introduced in a gaṇa government or the abuse of authority which might take place in an oligarchic Saṅgha was a constant dread to the Hindu lawgiver and consequently they looked upon royalty as the best form of government.

BUDDHIST JANAPADA.

When we pass from the Epic and come to the Buddhist books, we find the idea of the state more developed. In the Canonical Buddhist literature as well as in the Jātakas we find mention of the Mahā Janapadas. The names of these sixteen are well known to students of Indian History. They include several monarchical states, in addition to some decidedly non-monarchical in which sovereignty was vested in a number of chiefs or the people themselves. These, too, attained the stage of what we call the State. Each of them, whether a monarchical state or a republic, occupied a definite territory, inhabited by communities owing more or less allegiance to a central authority. The corporate idea, too, was present in them.[1]

(*To be continued.*)

NARAYANA CHANDRA BANDYOPADHAYAYA

---

[1] In the sutras of Panini, too, we find mention of Janapada and rāṣtra (IV. 2. 94). These Janapadas were founded by the settlement of Kshatriya tribes in a particular locality and were called after their names, used in the plural. The evidence of two other sutras shows that not only there was this settlement in a particular piece of territory, but there had grown up an allegiance on the part of the local population to a ruling tribe. This may be inferred from the two sutras (IV. 3. 95 and IV. 3. 100............*e.g.,* भक्तिश्च—and जनपदीनां जनपदात् सर्व्वं जनपदेन समानशव्दानां वहुवचने ॥

In addition to these Pānini mentions Sanghas and hill tribes living by the profession of arms (आयुधजीविभ्य: छ: पर्व्वते IV. 3. 91.).

Reviews

The Eternal Pilgrim and the Voice Divine. By Jehangir Sorabji. (Bombay Bharat Seva Printing Press.)

Many of the friends of the late Mr. Jehangir Sorabji will welcome this collection of his speeches and writings. The editing has been a labour of love on the part of a son of the author, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, and a friend, and the result is a handsome volume of over a thousand pages. The motive for publication is not only filial piety but religious and moral edification, and, however one may differ from some of the views expressed, there is no doubt that we have here the outpourings of the soul of one who, in the words of Mrs. Besant (who contributes an introduction), "in the depths of his own being sought the Hidden God, and gave out for the helping of other Seekers, that which he had found."

It was fitting that Mrs. Besant should contribute a foreword to this book, for it is the work of one of the most ardent of the followers of the Theosophical Faith, and of one who was second to none in his reverence for the present leader of the sect in India. To Mr. Jehangir, as his son says, "a wish of the revered President of the Theosophical Society was a command to be obeyed" and some of the most interesting of the addresses here printed are those appreciative of Mrs. Besant's recent and present services and those commemorative of Madame Blavatsky's earlier labours. After a life of eminent public usefulness in the State of Hyderabad Mr. Jehangir devoted the closing years of his life entirely to the interests of the Theosophical Society, and the branches in Hyderabad and Bombay must have owed much to his efforts.

The addresses are the expression of a profoundly religious spirit of a mystical type, free from extravagance and abounding in tolerant charity wherever there is understanding of another point of view. The strength of the book is emotional rather than intellectual. The author is certainly aware of the magnificent intellectual inheritance of Indian philosophy and appreciative of its deepest teaching. The book abounds in vivid and acute aphorisms, and, in an excellent passage, emphasis is placed upon the idea that genuine devotion is impossible without intellectual development. But, in general, the writer is dominated by the fear that knowledge may come while wisdom lingers, and he is hardly sufficiently appreciative of the knowledge which is derived from accurate and patient—and, we may say,—reverent-study of the objective. The reason of this lack of appreciation probably is that certain conceptions which may have been more justifiable thirty years ago than they are to-day, occupy a large place in the mind of the author. One of them is that western thought is materialistic,—a generalisation which now-a-days it is hardly necessary even to consider, and which we are sure that the author, if he were writing to-day, would most readily abandon. If there is one philosophical tendency more obvious than another in Western speculation, it is the tendency *away* from the purely materialistic standpoint. The other limiting conception is the idea that Christianity is dogmatic, for how else could we explain the extraordinary statement that "Christianity develops the heart and leaves the head to take care of itself?" We do not think that this statement, any more than the other generalisation, could have been made to-day, when the criticism frequently brought against Christianity is of an entirely opposite character. It is noteworthy that Mrs. Besant falls into exactly the same mistake as our present author, but, before her conversion to Theosophy, she seems to have been in contact with only a very narrow type of Christianity.

For the most part, however, the book is generous in its judgments and receptive of truth from all kinds of sources, and many of its aphorisms show a healthy sense of social responsibility and linger in the memory because of their incisiveness and beauty. Captious critics everywhere, *e.g.*, would do well to remember that "murmurs and complaints never rectify a mischief" and that "men who have no desire to improve themselves, try to improve the whole world, in the beginning." Subjectivists and individualists in religion, on the other hand, are impressively reminded that "true salvation is collective; it is never for one. It covers all humanity within its blissful folds. The Salvation which is for one is but an inn, a momentary resting-place before the journey is resumed."

W. S. U.

"**Usarika**" (Dawn-Rhythms) by Sri Ananda Acharya; Price Annas Four only, *Published by the Brahmakul, Gaurisankar Scandinavia*; Sole Agents for India—The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.

It is a booklet of 24 prose poems on two fundamental ideas—the idea of unity and that of peace in the heart of things. Some of the pieces contain also a note of the illusoriness of the world of phenomena. No. XXIII in the series strikes us as particularly poetical in quality.

J. G. B.

"Songs to Myrtilla" by Sri Aurobindo Ghose (The Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta):—

The poet has with characteristic modesty called these songs the "maimed children of six disastrous years" and the publisher states that all these early poems except five were written between the poet's eighteenth and twentieth years.

These juvenile pieces born of the divine Hellenic Muse indicate the trend of the youthful poet's mind at a time when "the soul begins to be tinged with thought" and have to be appreciated more for their promise than performance. There is an undertone of romantic sadness which youthful poets often "affect." We have here mainly the poetry of sensation and loving observation reminding one of the juvenile work of Keats and Tennyson. The thinking quality of Aurobindo Ghose destined to be the modern Yogin of India is not visible in these early efforts remarkable, no doubt, for variety of metrical experiments, richness of imagery and choice diction.

The first piece *Glaucus* is beautiful as nature poetry showing the poet's exquisite sensuous enjoyment of nature's charms and *O Coil, Coil* is decidedly Keatsian. *Madhusudan Dutt* is notable for its fervent enthusiasm, *Goethe* for its brief but correct estimate and the last few lines of *Bankimchandra Chatterjee* for perfect form of expression. *The Island Grove* is full of quiet pathos and *Radha's Appeal* is a fine lyric of divine love remarkable for its novel metrical structure. A higher lyrical flight is marked by *Love in Sorrow.*

J. G. B.

"India and other Sonnets" by Nalini Mohun Chatterjee (1923) is a book of 50 sonnets on a large variety of subjects in which the difficulties of a foreign tongue have been overcome with great ease by the poet's copious and expressive vocabulary. The deepest experiences of life and most profound thoughts are here sometimes embodied in poetically suggestive images rich in melodious diction. There runs through a number of the pieces a haunting note of intense spiritual wistfulness that has ever been India's own yet Mr. Chatterjee's gaze is not withdrawn from life's simple joys and the earth's fleeting glories. Truly this poet's "song-built sky with other suns doth shine."

The Jumna and *The Taj Mahal* are artistic creations remarkable for high romance and *The Wind, Distance, The Light of Love* illustrate the renascence of wonder in a world of dull routine "where selfish hours with soulless traffic run." In *Perfection* the poet strikes an essentially modern note of progressive hope and in *Buddha* he achieves a superb simplicity worthy of Wordsworth. Sound and sense meet in perfection in *The Charmed Circle* and poems like *The River of Time, The Robe of Life, Silence, The Other Shore, I and Thou* are as sublime in thought as they are rich in poetic expression.

J. G. B.

Easy German Reader, Book I; By Pasupatinath Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., To be had of Messrs. Sen Brothers & Co., 15, College Street, Calcutta.

The value of this book lies in the reading lessons on *Hindu Religion.* The idea is excellent. This kind of reading lessons will encourage and facilitate the studying of the language and be of great help to the lecturer. The other reading parts are also very useful. But why teach "Blindekuh?" The Bengali Science and Law students, playing "Blindekuh" with German children of five years of age, will never be born.

The pronunciation is given in Indian Vernacular. This was just the thing I was longing for since many years. I made at once the trial in my classes and—failed. "Wasser" was pronounced "Wahsehr" and "Wein" like "Bein." Pronunciation can only be taught by pronunciation. But it is not advisable to make in a class the experiment, as described on page 5: "Prepare the lips for uttering *oo*, but try to utter *ee*." I tried this game and will never do it again; for the lecture became a concert.

A. Duc

Ourselves

STUDY OF EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY: CALCUTTA AND DACCA.

We publish below a letter which has been addressed by the Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. The letter speaks for itself. It would be instructive to ascertain how the unfounded statement originated that the Dacca University was the only University where the claims of Experimental Psychology had met with recognition.

No. 1895 P. G. *Senate House, the 15th February, 1924.*

FROM

G. N. BANERJEE, ESQ., M.A., PH.D., F.R.S.A.,
Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts,
Calcutta University.

TO

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BENGAL, CALCUTTA.

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to the marginally noted statement in the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1922-23, Ch. III, published in page 255 of the last issue of the *Calcutta Gazette* and I have the honour to note the following facts for your information and necessary correction in this connection :—

"This (Dacca) has been the first University in India to afford facilities of practical training to Psychology students...."

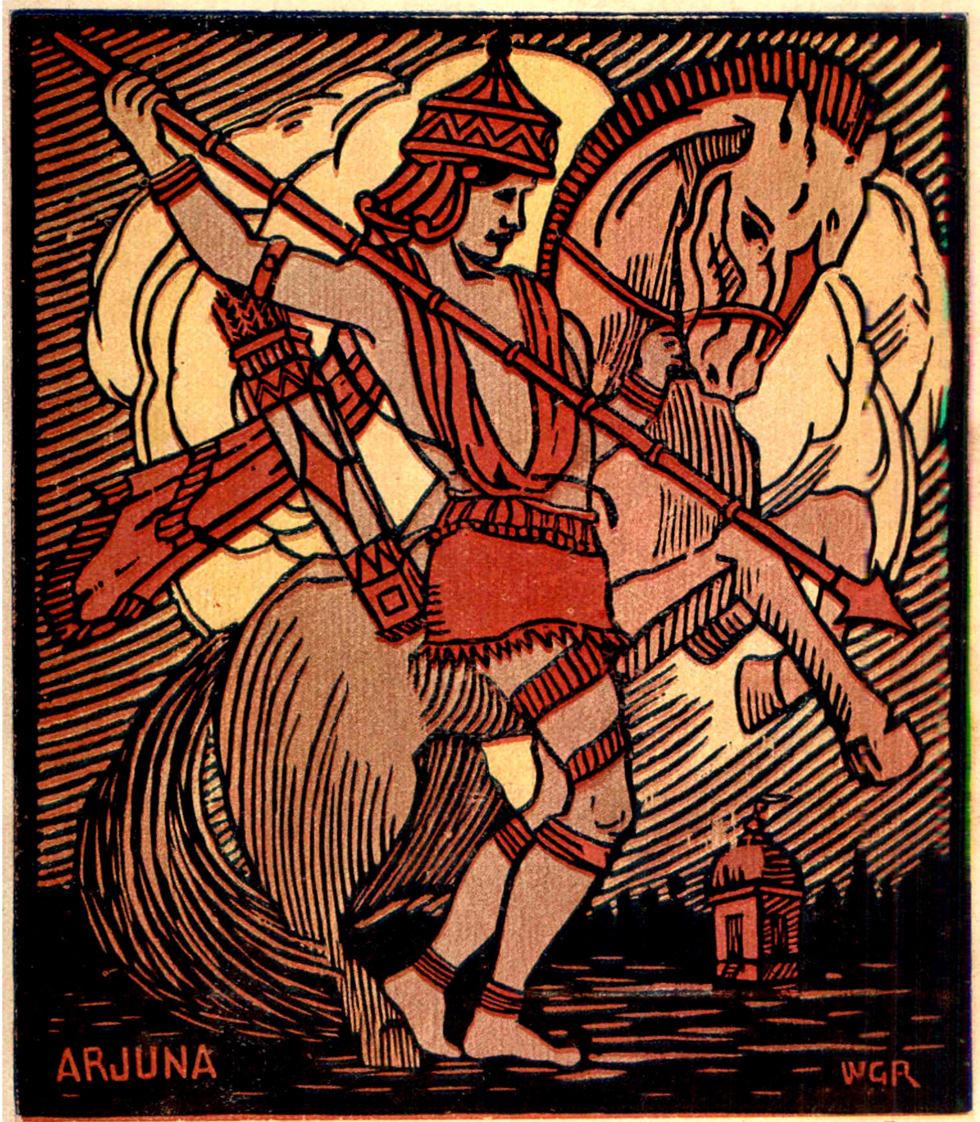
The Department of Experimental Psychology in the University of Calcutta was organised for imparting instructions to the candidates for the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations in Psychology in July, 1916. The laboratory attached to the Department is equipped for work in Physiological

Psychology and in special lines of work in Experimental Psychology. A number of experiments in Educational Psychology, too, are undertaken every year. The lectures comprise all the principal branches of Psychology —Physiological, Experimental, Abnormal, Comparative, Genetic and Educational. Every student for the Master's degree has to undergo a course of training for two years in each of these subjects, as well as in the laboratory.

An undergraduate department has been added during the last three years and the total number of students in Psychology is 101 up to date.

The laboratory at Dacca was opened much later. Mr. Haridas Bhattacharjee who is the Reader of the subject, was a lecturer in the Department of Experimental Psychology here prior to his joining the Dacca University. It is thus manifestly incorrect to claim for Dacca the priority of imparting practical training in Psychology. In fact, the Department was in existence here long before the Dacca University came into being.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G. N. Banerjee,
Secretary.



Arjuna

W. G. Raffé
1923

From a coloured wood-cut by W. G. Raffé.

POST GRADUATE COUNCIL IN ARTS
LENDING LIBRARY
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1924

DEATH AND LOVE

(A Dialogue)

Come, Nothingness,
Blank and Negation, Nescience, mighty Death,
Annihilation, or whatever else
Men do miscall thee, thou that loss of breath
And being seem'st, terrifically to dress
Thy aspect to each dark mind muffling fear
That in man's spirit dwells,
Come, for I will disprove thee, show thou art
A self-made phantom of man's fearful heart.
Thou shalt from me extort not one sad tear
To weep the invisible triumphant dead.
She waits me, that divine, dear shining head.

Dupe of thy hope,
Shallow love-cheated mortal, I am Death,
Behold me, I am nothingness. Revive
One of the millions then that my dart slayeth:
Thou that hast challenged me, say, can'st thou cope
With these terrific arrows? Then renounce
All hope that she can live.
Thou saw'st her borne unto the riverside
Burnt on the pyre, her ashes scattered wide.

In reason's mere despite to play the dunce,
'Gainst proof of eyes and ears be dreamer, fool,
Who was it taught thee in what shallow school?

Immortal Love
Who made his heaven and home in her fair eyes—
I learnt in that bright college. He it was
Taught me thy muffled menace to despise.
In this faith grammared me that thou wouldst prove
The shadow of a shadow. Substance thou
Hast none, nor shape can'st show,
An insubstantial terror. Thee God made
From our projected ignorance, afraid
Of its audacity, to have us bow
To His slow earthly schooling. Therefore He
Heaven's brightness hid with thy dark nullity.

Heaven's brightness? Dolt!
And where's that fancied brightness thy vague heaven?
All worlds I rule. And nothing is so strong,
Such power to my imperious stride is given,
'Gainst me can shut the bolt,
Offer to me resistance, the prime law
And nature's mere necessity. Lest throng,
Lest insane superfluity should Earth,
The many-breasted mother, crush with birth,
I with my emptying quiver overawe,
God's sane inexorable archer Death
Who roomy keep the populous fields of breath.

'Twas Heaven to fill,
Heaven, vast Eternity, whence forms and clouds,
Life's pageantry forever, thou wast given
Those darts tremendous. Therefore crowds on crowds
To slay, harry, thou wast suffered. Haste to kill,

Admit us to the brightness; people Heaven.
She dwells there where truth cores the universe.
'Tis everywhere. Behind the breeze it lies,
Behind the sunshine, to our thwarted eyes.
Eternal Love eclipses there thy curse
And joins all parted lovers. Thou, his thrall,
Art but the gateway to his glorious hall.

M. GHOSE

DESIDERIA

In the night, the lonely watches,
I weep and sigh for thee
'Till great stars, wet and streaming,
Look down and pity me.

My strong sobs break the stillness,
God's awful nightly hush,
Against his star-thronged distance
My lonely heart I crush.

I vex eternal silence
To sing me back my bliss,
Jarred with the spheral music
One little voice to miss.

One gaze for all those millions
  Sparkling shine and fill
With joy God's boundless yearning,
  One smile, my ache would still.

So through the nightly watches
  I weep and sigh for thee,
And cold stars wet and streaming
  Look down and pity me.

M. Ghose

HISTORY AND LITERATURE

"The last fifty years have witnessed great changes in the management of Clio's temple. Her inspired prophets and bards have passed away and been succeeded by the priests of an established Church; the vulgar have been excluded from the Court of the Gentiles; doctrine has been defined; heretics have been excommunicated; and the tombs of the aforesaid prophets have been duly blackened by the new hierarchy." Such is Mr. Trevelyan's comment on the "scientific" view of history, the view that history is a "science" for specialists and not "literature" for the enjoyment of readers at large.

The main question that troubled the apostles of this movement was if imagination is to be allowed to play any part in reconstructing the history of the past. In other words, how much of the personality of the historian may come into his work. The ancients[1] put no broad line of demarcation between the treatment of fact and fiction. Demodocus singing of the Trojan war was producing history as well as literature; in fact, in the Heroic Age, the only historians were the court-minstrels singing the deeds of honoured heroes. Thus again Prometheus was as much a subject of history as Alcibiades and Herodotus' work as much of literature as Hesiod's. To-day we all grant that the historian's business is to deal with facts alone. But are the facts to be put down just as they are recorded in documents? Or, is the historian at liberty to employ his imagination to recreate the men and women of the times from the dry bones of facts? Macaulay's ambition was to make his "History" take the place of the latest novel of the day,—to be for the ordinary reader as interesting and as attractive as the latest fiction; and the protest of a modern school of historians is mainly against such an effort. Von

---

[1] The distinction is, however, clearly noted by Aristotle in the *Poetics*: "Poetry is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history; for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular."

Ranke, the prophet of the school, wanted history "to be critical, to be colourless, to be new." He is said to have been shocked at discovering that the Louis XI of *Quentin Durward* was more a creation of Scott's brain than a figure of history and that Louis' character in Comines' work was very different from what it had become in Scott's. Scott may have been writing fiction; but if he introduced a historic figure, his duty was to give a truthful representation without introducing his own impression of the person. To Ranke, the historian's main duty was to follow sternly the lead of authorities; and his followers have elaborated this position and made out that the chief business of the historian is to be an impartial investigator of documents and to record the results of that investigation in as colourless a fashion as possible. The close examination of authorities and investigation of their evidence is, of course, the main thing. As Mill puts it: "There is no part of our knowledge which it is more useful to obtain at first hand, to go to the fountain-head for, than our knowledge of history."[1] To him, the sole ideal of history is the recording of facts. Beautiful robes may make Truth more attractive to some; but the historian adores the *nuda veritas* and does not concern himself with asking what drapery would increase this beauty. Ceaseless examination of records is the essence of history; the form is mere accident. Nay, he will go further and say that the absence of colour in the historical narrative is essential, for he claims that history is not literature, but a science trying to apply the experience of the past to the political problems of the present day. As Seeley put it: "History fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics; and politics are vulgar when they are not liberalised by history."

This brings us to the second point in which such a historian claims to have advanced on his predecessors. He claims that history is not to be taken as a mere record of the past, that it is not "past politics" as even Freeman supposed it to be, but that it supplies knowledge which is to be an instrument of action for the making of the present and the future. Mill explains the position thus: "Scientific politics do not consist in having a set of conclusions ready made to be applied everywhere indiscriminately, but in setting the mind to work in a scientific spirit to discover in each instance the truths applicable to the given case." Education should supply the student with materials for his own mind and help him to use them; and one of the aims of Education should be to introduce us to the different modes of civilisation found among mankind and to point out the distinctive properties of each of these stages. The main object of the historian or the teacher of history is to place before the student the differences between human beings and social institutions at one time and another; and also to distinguish between what is the same in all ages and what is progressive. Thus he should help the student to form an "incipient conception of the causes and laws of progress." The object is to make the student take an interest in history "not as a mere narrative, but as a chain of causes and effects still unwinding itself before our eyes and full of momentous consequences for the present generation as for future ones." All true political science is, of course, in a sense *a-priori*, for it is not arrived at by direct experience; but we must not forget that its laws are deduced from the tendencies of things, "tendencies known either through our general experience of human nature or as the result of an analysis of the course of history, considered as a progressive evolution."

---

[1] *Inaugural Address.*

Harrison, in his *Meaning of History*, holds that all our hopes of the future are based on a sound understanding of the past; and Lecky contends that he who has understood the true character and tendency of many succeeding ages is likely to be right in estimating his own. To quote his exact words: "One of the first tasks that every sincere student should set before himself is to endeavour to understand what is the dominant idea or characteristic of the period with which he is occupied; what forces ruled it, what forces were then rising into a dangerous ascendancy and what forces were on the decline......It is only when studied in this spirit that the true significance of history is disclosed and the same method which furnishes a key to the past forms also an admirable discipline for the judgment of the present."[1] Again Freeman, though he looked on history as past politics, pointed out that in English history every step in advance has been at the same time a step backwards and that the latest constitution is essentially the same as the earliest. John Morley is more emphatic. In his essay, "On Popular Culture," he refers to Dr. Arnold's idea that the public might have a history of the present state of society traced backwards. Morley says: "It is the present that really interests us; it is the present that we seek to understand and to explain. I do not in the least want to know what happened in the past except as it enables me to see my way more clearly through what is happening to-day."

But these writers do not agree in estimating how far the history of the past can be a firm basis for present-day politics. Here Lecky himself had some misgivings. He felt that human affairs are so infinitely complex that we can never expect them to reproduce themselves exactly. So no study of the past can enable us "to predict the future with the minuteness and the completeness that can be attained in exact sciences." And what Lecky emphasised was the *method* of understanding the past; he would not assert that the principles and tendencies of a past age can be of any direct importance in affairs of the present.

This leads us to Seely's position. If we want to determine the province of history, we must use the word without any thought of time past or present. There are multitudes of past occurrences which do not belong to history, while multitudes of present phenomena do. In history, as in other sciences, phenomena must be classed together according to resemblances in kind, not according to date; and political institutions, whether past or present, are within the limits of historical phenomena. We may go further and call it *the* phenomenon for history. All history is valuable in so far as it enables us to understand the political problems of the present-day; and contemporary history is superior to ancient or modern history 'by all the superiority of the end to the means.'[1] Nearness in time does not make events more valuable for the student of present-day problems. We may derive more useful lessons from Thucydides than from Froissart or Clarendon; but though Thucydides is more valuable than these latter, he is not more so than the *Times* of to-day. The true history is of to-day; and the study of the past is subject-matter for history in so far as an increasing purpose runs through the ages and the past leads on to the present.

---

[1] *Historical and Political Essays.*

Acton does not fully endorse this view. He maintains that the living do not give up their secrets with the candour of the dead and a generation must pass before we can ascertain the accuracy of the evidence at our disposal. Then there is the question of detachment. "Our most sacred and disinterested convictions ought to take shape in the tranquil regions of the air above the tumult and tempest of active life"[2] and though politics and history are interwoven, they are not commensurate.

We may here mention Croce's view of history. It is true he is not a practitioner of the art of history, but the theorist who is after a philosophic concept; still his ideas are instructive. He holds that "history is never constructed out of narratives but always from documents or from narratives reduced to documents and treated as such. So that if contemporary history leaps forth from life itself, the history we are accustomed to call non-contemporaneous also springs directly from life, for nothing but a present-living interest can move us to seek knowledge of a past fact, which fact, therefore, inasmuch as it is drawn forth by the present living interest responds to a present and not to a past interest."

---

[1] *Lectures and Essays.*

[2] *Study of History.*

If, however, we grant that there is a philosophy of history, that there is a tendency in the events of the past which if properly understood may be a guide for the present and the future, the question for the historian is how he is to bring out this tendency. He may try to unfold it either through full-length portraits of the great individuals whom he takes as the "representative men" of the age, or he may investigate hundreds of records about ordinary men of the time and try to reconstruct from them the national life of the age. In the former case, the great men, the "heroes" or "geniuses" are supposed to be the nation in little for they sum up in themselves all that is best as well as most typical in their age; in the latter we are asked not to trouble so much about the best, but to understand more fully what the ordinary man was, and for that we are asked to study hundreds of detached incidents instead of the connected events of a few lives.

This idea that history is not a mere record of the lives and deeds of kings, nobles and priests was probably first emphasised by Adam Smith. He pointed out that wars waged by generals and treaties concluded by diplomats, charters granted by kings and privileges claimed by priests are but the foam on the currents and eddies of the life of the nation. This life turns on common human needs, on the natural resources of a country, on middle-class commerce and things like that. The common people are perhaps affected by wars and treaties; but their whole history is not made of that. The old saying "Happy is the nation which has no history" was based on a misconception of the function of history, and the true history is not one of individuals, but of nations. Carlyle partly agreed with this position; and both in the *Past and Present* and in the *French Revolution,* he maintains that history is called on to account for "the vast mass unknown to your bland records of kings and nobles." But later on the importance he laid on "heroes" led him to look on history as Emerson did, as "the biography of great men." The tradition of Adam Smith has been carried on by Buckle and J. R. Green who seem to hold that individual effort has practically no significance for the history of a country; and almost all mention of kings and nobles, battles and treaties are omitted from their works.

This shifting of the focus of history from the kings and nobles, from the "great" to the ordinary men means the substitution of individualities by generalities. The task of the older school of historians was to marshal before us the noble array of leaders of men, of warriors or rulers or reformers. Great actions and great thoughts were the theme, the individual representing the ideal of the age. The method of such a historian is, if we may so term it, deductive. First, he starts from general ideas, the conception of the greatness of the individuals; and their actions are studied only against the background of this conception. Then again he starts with the ideal of the past age and what was best in it; he places that before the ordinary man, expecting him to draw deductions from the ideal, deductions about what suits himself. The more modern historian proceeds the other way. He follows what may be called the inductive method. He places before the average man the picture of the average life of another day. The latter is reconstructed from hundreds of instances of ordinary folk; and from a study of these examples we may infer the line of action and conduct of the everyday life of another age. It is an inference from one set of particular instances to another set; and a general principle may or may not be interposed between the two sets; but it is never the starting point of investigation.

The substitution of the inductive method for the deductive is not exceptional to modern historical works. In imaginative literature we have had a parallel movement, a movement towards what is known as "Realism" by the lover of catch-words. The essence of Realism as opposed to Romanticism is, I take it, the inductive method as opposed to the deductive. The realist in literature tries to paint the average man and his everyday life. He does not, it is true, heap together all the irrelevant and disconnected details of the lives of his creations; he selects some among all these; but beyond this selection he obtrudes himself little. The mass of details is there and the reader has to recreate the man from those details,—and if he wants to go further,—to apply that experience to his own life. The realistic method is to start from the outward, apparently disconnected incidents and to try to arrive at an understanding of a unity governing all this diversity, of what we call a human character binding together all the details of his life and action. The romantic's method is the reverse. He starts with the general conception of this character which is clear-cut and well-defined from the beginning. The character being understood, the man's actions follow as a logical consequence of that character. The general idea comes first, the particulars follow in due order; and these particulars are not chosen haphazard, but as typical illustrations of the general principle. Thus the realist proceeds from a mass of details to a general conception, while the romantic advances from a general idea to concrete action. In other words, the realist works inductively, the romantic deductively.

As we have tried to show, this is the general difference between the two schools of modern historians, so far as method is concerned. A man like Frederick Harrison would prefer the deductive method. It seems to him that the probing of the lives of the average men of the past is useless from the historian's view-point ; and too often it is only the result of morbid curiosity, a curiosity that would lay bare the ugliness of the past. For a true understanding of the past we need not probe deep into this mass of ugliness. Great individuals stand out in every age from amongst the mass of their compeers ; and if we understand them well, we cannot be far out in understanding the main tendency of the age. But a historian like Buckle would deny this. To him this great personality is not important in itself ; its importance can only lie in its being a product of the time spirit, in its being a creature, rather than a creator of the times. Thus for the student of the rise of the Roman Empire, the personality of Julius Cæsar does not mean anything. The Roman Republic was not destroyed by Cæsar, but by a chain of causes and effects which made the career of Cæsar possible. Influences working for centuries had undermined the Republic and the form of government fitted for a limited Italy was not suitable for the united civilised world ; and the Republic had to go. Cæsar was merely an agent and an inevitable one ; and his greatness is not in himself, but in having appeared at the proper time. Too often, however, these so-called great men are merely disturbing factors of society. They come at the wrong time, cry out prematurely against well-rooted social principles and fail. Thus Wycliffe and Huss failed, where Luther succeeded later on. If we want to study the age of a Wycliffe, we would make a great mistake to look through his eyes. What we have to do is to understand the people first and then come to these "great" men and accept only so much of them as harmonises with the tendency of the age.

From the stand-point of the literary student, the main thing here is, as has been said, the difference in method,—the use of the inductive, as opposed to the deductive, method. Yet the analogy of realism and romance may mislead us. In imaginative literature, one cannot definitely assign any superiority to the realistic works over the romantic or to the romantic over the realistic. Some may prefer the one and some the other; and catholic critics will acknowledge that a great work of art may be either realistic or romantic. But the works of history which employ the inductive method labour under an inherent defect, if we judge them as literature. In realistic drama or fiction the aim of the inductive method is to create an individual, a creature of flesh and blood; but inductive history aims mainly at a general principle, an abstract theory. The aim of the hero-worshipper historians was first to portray individuals, to write biographies; the aim of the others is to avoid such portraiture as much as possible. The latter will start with detached facts, try to arrive at a general principle from them and then seek to apply the principle. The disconnected facts are events in the lives of men; but the historian does not attempt to visualise these figures, they remain vague shadows. The result is a loss of dramatic interest. The history which focuses itself on great men has a much better chance of giving a vivid and connected narrative, much more so than the work which has to deal with groups of facts alone.

In one respect, however, the effort of the modern historian to represent corporate life brings him into a very close touch with works of imagination. When a historian aims at presenting a picture of the society of a particular age, he cannot neglect the imaginative works of the period. The pictures of men and women in these works may supply more valuable data than records of business-transactions or of legal matter can ever do. Thus we may attempt to build up the society of Homer's time from a study of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, that of 14th century England from Chaucer and Langland, of Elizabethan times from Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists, of the 18th century from Fielding, Smollett and Jane Austen. For the writer of social history all such works are valuable; but for the other type of historians what matters is only the personality of the author as a representative of his age; and even he is of very little importance as compared to great men of a different type, warriors, kings or priests. So we may say that while history is attempting to do away with its character as literature, it is laying more contribution on the works of imagination, regarding them as raw materials of investigation.

And here one may ask, how far is the historian justified in making his work un-literary, in trying to give it a scientific character by making it "colourless." The first question is how far can history be a science like physics or chemistry. As Mr. Trevelyan has pointed out, it can obviously have little of direct utility for the world, a utility like that of the mechanical inventions of physics or the chemical combination of elements. But can it have any indirect practical value through its discovery of universal laws, laws of causal connection between phenomena? Surely it cannot do this either. For practically every law suggested by history, precedents may be found both for and against it. The point is that the complete isolation of the data of historical laws is almost impossible; and we can never thoroughly examine these materials as we can in the case of physical laws. Here it may be noted first that dead matter is more easily analysed than human nature; and then when one has to examine men of a past age, the task becomes even more difficult. Where one cannot be sure of the exact character of men of the present age, it is futile to attempt it with the past. Then again even if we could be sure of finding out a causal connection between phenomena of a past age, even if we could be sure of the logical consequences of the actions of that age, we should never be justified in applying those laws to the present age. They might have been true of a particular stage of society, of a particular type of men; but surely human nature is not the same through all the ages and what is true of one stage of society can scarcely be applied to another.

History, then, claims a little too much in posing as a science. It can at best be an imperfect science and in trying to be that, it sacrifices its literary qualities. The historian now writes not for the people at large, but for a select band of academicians. Each historical work is an "Encyclical" of such a coterie which imposes laws the lay-folk are to follow unquestioningly. The historian trying to write an interesting narrative is condemned as false to his sense of duty which is the impartial examination of documents and the recording of its results. He is said to be content with a superficial investigation of his materials and apt to be careless about them. In rebutting these charges, I can only follow in the wake of the best modern advocate of literary history. "The idea that histories which are delightful to read must be the work of superficial temperaments and that a crabbed style betokens a deep thinker or conscientious worker is the reverse of truth... A limpid style is invariably the result of hard labour and the easily following connection of sentence with sentence and paragraph with paragraph is always won by the sweat of the brow."[1] Every historian must combine the three functions, the "scientific," the "speculative" and the "literary." The first is his accumulation of materials and the examination of the evidence. The second is the selection and classification of the accepted matter, followed by guesses and generalisings from it. Then comes the exposition of these results in a form that will attract all fellow-countrymen. Of these, only the first function is recognised by the "scientific" historian. Even the "speculative" function is sometimes condemned, as that might give too great a scope to the imagination of the author, too much of a temptation to stray from the stern lead of documents. But "division of labour is only possible in a limited degree"; and the artistic work must be "superimposed on the labours of scholarship." There is undoubtedly a temptation for the artist to "neglect small, inconvenient pieces of truth"; but this should not lead to a condemnation of all literary historians; and we must recognise that the good historians are only those who can combine the scientific with the artistic function of history.

---

[1] We may compare Stevenson's remarks in *A Note on Realism*: "Style is the invariable mark of any master; and for the student who does not aspire so high as to be numbered with the giants, it is still the one quality in which he may improve himself at will."

N. K. SIDHANTA

THE LOTUS CUP

The contented murmur of tall palm-trees,
Bending awhile in the lazy breeze;
The clicking of graceful bamboo boughs;
The line of the jungle in distant frieze;
The brilliant beauty of tropical bloom,
Splashing with colour the growing gloom;
The restless beat of the big hand-drum,
Breaking the silence with rhythmic thrum;
The star-strewn darkness of velvet night;
The white moon glowing with magical light;
The haunted silence of jungle and brush;
The glamour that brands with inscrutable blight;
The hot sun burning a white-hot sky;
The ragged black line of the crows flying high;
The poison-sweet somnolent breath of the East,
That captures and holds us in thrall till we die
For he who dwells too long in the East,
Or takes but a sip at the lotus-feast;
Can never go back to the old home brew,
Or walk the old paths, be he pagan or priest.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDEESON

A RATIONALISTIC VIEW OF POESY

[*Foreword*: Poesy subjected to the unbiassed scrutiny of reason is not likely to present a bright picture. Poesy appeals to emotion, and fights shy, as far as practicable, of the searching glances of reason. While the call of Truth must necessarily lead to criticism of a gloomy, and sometimes even of a shocking nature, it is far from my purpose to offend orthodox sentiments and susceptibilities. That poesy is gradually declining with the progress of civilisation, which turns man's attention from the dreamland to the actual world, from charming episodes to stern historical reality, from fancy to experience, from exceptions to the general order, from beauty to utility, from the Form to the Norm, from self-sacrifice to sordidly calculating sympathy, from the past to the future, from honour to interest, from love to lucre,—is admitted on all hands. Some regret the decline; some rejoice over it; and there are others who simply reconcile themselves to the inevitable instead of feeling disquieted or delighted.

The place of poesy in polite letters has received a rude shock from the recent expansion and specialisation of literature, and its ramification into various branches each of which tries to live in isolation though their general inter-dependence is not denied. Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Ethics, Economics, etc., have each a literature of its own. This specialisation is only of about fifty years' growth, leaving the purely physical sciences out of account.

The emotions are losing in rapturous manifestations, though their internal strength instead of decreasing is showing new vigour. The emotions have, as it were, become darkly rational, and work like volcanoes unseen beneath the crust of the earth. Poetry is feminine in character, and is pleased not so much with the depth of the emotions as with their ruffled visible vibrations.

Beauty, the chief raw material of poetry, though it has not suffered any absolute diminution of value, has lost in brightness and invitingness by its growing subordination to utility.

The world's idea about morality though unchanged in the masses are showing an upward and inward movement towards a higher and refined plain of ethics with a velocity which poesy, from its intimate traditional connection with legendary Humanity, finds it difficult to emulate.

The ideas of religion also are getting refined at a rate of speed which poesy cannot command in its present environment, and its traditionary conventions. Poetry, in short, is unable to tear the bonds with which it is tied and fettered, while philosophic ideas are, either for good or for evil, boldly snapping them as if illusions of all kinds were doomed. I do not think illusions in the world now are less strong than before, but they have certainly taken a new turn which does not lend itself to poesy. . . .

The intensity of love and hate is not diminished, but the growing power of sordid self-interest makes the Muses shy at their practical manifestations.

Thus it appears that either out of pride or vanity or inaptitude and incapacity to adapt herself to new environment, Poesy is hiding herself before the advance of the present form of civilisation. Her orthodox conservatism avoids the glare of rapid innovations, and she prefers a quiet suburban existence, to the hurry and bustle which characterise the life of busy towns, and in proportion as the countryside is declining in beauty the opulence of Poesy is diminishing. Man prefers the prosaic changeful town life to the beautiful dulness and monotony of rural life. The Lake Poets were brought up in towns, and in their choice of the solitude of Lake dwellings they were more impelled by a disgust of the dusty streets of towns than inspired by a romantic estimate of the value of rural life and other relics of pre-historic times.

These preliminary explanations will, I hope, be received in the same spirit of reverence for truth in which they are offered. I only desire that the following essay will be read as far as possible with an open mind and a dispassionate soul, with the ideals of the moral and spiritual life ever kept alive, untainted by the memory of the raptures of past enjoyments derived from the study of Poesy. Life has a higher purpose than mere passing emotional affections, or the pleasures of rumination, though the proposition is likely to be disputed specially by inexperienced young men who consider these affections and pleasures as vested interests enjoyed by mankind since the creation of imagination in the human mind, and of beauty in its self-expression. But the time has come for man manfully to sacrifice vested interests for the benefit of humanity, *i.e.*, for the triumph of truth which has a higher value than the blandishment of Beauty. The twentieth century has come into the world to investigate the claims of vested interests in all vital matters that concern human life. It is not likely to overlook the vested interest concerned with Poesy.

Poesy, as one of the chief sources of joy, is open to no complaint in any mind, either emotionalistic or rationalistic. It is the illegitimate exploitation of Poesy that forms the chief subject of complaint in the following essay. Beauty and Truth must ultimately be congruent, if not identical. It is when Beauty, instead of supporting, begins to show, either out of levity or of malice, an inclination to distort, debauch, deceive, or in any way debase Truth that she lays herself open to whispers of disagreeable criticism. Poesy began to transgress her legitimate frontiers from the beginning. She now finds more pleasure in touring abroad than in staying at home. She is neglecting her own subjects in her frolicsome aggressiveness.

One word more and I have done with this *Foreword,* already too long for the short essay. The latter is not a work of polemic, but of criticism. The criticism is delivered from a special standpoint, and perhaps at a limited angle of vision. The dispute for supremacy in human life between Feeling and Intelligence is yet unsettled. That dispute cannot be settled by the bullet and bayonet, that is, by the violence of literary warfare. What has encouraged me to enter upon this criticism is the fact that the majority in favour of Reason is increasing in numerical and intellectual strength, and that the position of Feeling is becoming increasingly hopeless. The theory of conduct touched with Emotion as constituting Religion is losing ground as an inspiring force in the betterment of human life; for the lower emotions, stronger and more massive than the higher ones, rudely tread upon the latter in all large questions, political, national and economical, and give the lead to conduct at the peril of civilisation. Janet says, "as to creatures in whom feeling is united to reason the ends of the former must be subordinated to those of the latter." Poetry as dealing with feelings must be subordinated to philosophy. There can be no wedlock on equal terms between man and wife, and Poesy is feminine by all accounts. Wives, no doubt all over the world, are becoming self-assertive, and acquiring masculine, at the expense of their feminine, virtues but it is doubtful whether society is gaining thereby. There remains another difficulty which loudly calls for solution. Beauty may be persuaded to acknowledge the supremacy of Truth, but will tenaciously refuse to be subordinated to Utility. Utility has a look of repulsive sordidness about it, and Beauty though forcibly pressed into the service of the latter has reason to be sulky and gloomy. The question finally stands thus:—" How to bring about a stable harmony or a statical Equilibrium between Beauty, Utility and Truth." Poetry still allies itself with superstition and useless objects. Truth resents the first, and Utility demands the rejection of the second. Poets have so far found no solution. Poetry is sometimes found to be coqueting with philosophy, and sometimes to run violently away from it. It would not be wide of the mark to remark that in Bengal D. L. Roy represents the second, and R. N. Tagore the first aspect. Both kinds of poetry have the power of creating a strong, immediate, but seldom a lasting impression. The sentiment of national self-consciousness aroused by the statement that India abounds with bushes and birds, and is, therefore, the queen of the world is not likely to last long. R. N. Tagore has acquired the epithet, poet-philosopher, by his wonderful effort to unite Beauty to Truth; but wherever Truth is dominant, Beauty loses part of her brightness and charm, and where Beauty is dominant, Truth looks like a chauffeur or a footman.

The questions whether the representatives of Beauty are lagging behind those of Truth in their power of expression, and whether Truth is perversely allying itself with Utility at the expense of Beauty are important. The gradual abandonment of the principle of final causes in the economy of Nature, and the increasing adherence of Truth to the principle of mechanism are no doubt important factors in the decay of Poesy. But so far as I am aware no determined effort has so far been made to trace in detail the causes of the decline of Poesy or to uphold it by the application of appropriate remedy. Poets are either persisting in adhering to old ideas of Beauty, or abjectly surrendering themselves to the mercy of new ideas, making Beauty accept service at the disposal of Truth instead of supporting the latter as a friend. Some poets take to beautifying Truth with un-truth or superstition. R. N. Tagore's poems furnish remarkable examples of this concubinage of poetry. Hindu mythology is freely exploited for the purpose of exhibiting divine activities in natural phenomena. A cyclone is a divine dance in which God's tangled locks of hair are loosed in the clouds, while people set up a piteous cry praying to His wife Durga, to save them in their distress. It is a dreadful catastrophic beauty, that is represented in this terrific animistic dance. There is beauty in cyclones, in Japanese earthquakes and volcanic eruptions and other frightfulnesses perpetrated by Nature. In this sense Beauty includes ugliness, and is that quality in objects which either attracts or repels human nature in its undiseased state. I here say nothing of Pragmatism or Humanism which gives to Beauty a small room in the out offices of Utility by way of hospitality and makes Truth seek the sanction of the latter for its recognition as a property of ideas.]

Definitions.

Beauty, Utility, Verity.—There are in the English language two small words which are gathering increasing value with the progress of culture. They are 'Beauty' and 'Truth.' They are old words now becoming pregnant with a new psychological meaning. Perhaps the re-percussion of German upon English culture has had some influence in enhancing their value among the cultured portion of English Society. Beauty, as contrasted with Utility, was hiding itself in the penumbric region of the human heart, frightened by the industrial success of England. Bentham, by his new theory of morals, directed general attention away from Beauty, and the great mass of the people fixed it on Utility. 'Truth,' on the other hand, without losing its general meaning as a true proposition has ascended into a higher region of thought. This region is somewhat obscure, but there is no doubt about its high altitude. Profane literature blasphemously uses it as something to swear by. Truth in its new sense means eternal truth, moral and spiritual truth; Truth as descending from heaven direct without the intervention of Nature or Natural phenomena. Truth belongs to the cloudy heights of transcendent thought.

In the general psychology of the Englishman the value of an object lay, until recently, mainly in its Utility. In judging the value of a thing the British mind is learning to take account of its beauty also, so that both Utility and Beauty, either separately or in combination, confer value on objects, Beauty still occupies a lower position as a factor in value, but it seems to be climbing higher. Whenever possible without incurring much cost, an element of beauty is added to useful objects. The attention of man is being redirected towards Beauty. The word 'value' itself has acquired a stupendous accession of meaning in the higher regions of thought where it forms a valuable test of truth, helping in its discovery and purification, besides furnishing a measure for estimating beauty as well as utility.

What is Beauty? Beauty is that which pleases, which is inviting and agreeable to human nature. For our present purpose, human nature may be divided into intellectual nature, moral nature and sensuous nature. There are beauties of direct intellectual perception and of sense perception. There are intellectual beauties, moral beauties and sensuous beauties. There are beauties of thought, beauties of action and beauties of sensation. Beauty as commonly understood is beauty of sensation or sense-perception. This beauty is no doubt carried into the nerve centre before actual consciousness is produced, but it is clearly distinguishable from intellectual beauty which requires no vibration in the sensory nerves. The intervention of memory and imagination often produces the illusion that intellectual and sensuous beauties are identical in some cases. Moral beauty has also some tendency to be confused with intellectual beauty. A moral sentiment, unaccompanied by action may produce pleasure or pain, may be agreeable or disagreeable, and thereby approach closely to intellectual beauty. The three forms of beauty find their ultimate consummation in the nerve centre, the seat of the intellect, and are, therefore, susceptible to confusion. I would ask the reader to bear these facts in mind, for though the distinction is subtle its practical value is immense. This subtlety has led many an intelligent man astray, leading him by slow degrees from a highly intellectual to a coarse sexual life. Poetry is liable to lapse into æstheticism; and æstheticism into sensuality; and the higher forms of sensuality into the beastly form of sexuality. Lovers of poetry have sometimes fallen into the deep mire of sexual immorality. The matter is delicate, and the biographers of poets in Bengal have been compelled by circumstances either to suppress Truth, or to distort it in order to keep the reputation of poetry as a branch of culture above the surface of ditch-water. Names of poets who have wallowed in such water will readily, albeit very disagreeably, occur to the reader, and press him for an answer as to the relation between beauty and impurity. The indiscriminate love of beauty makes havoc particularly among young men, and ruins the lives of millions of them. Beauty is heavenly, but there are beauties which come from the hands of the devil. The quest of beauty is a heavenly pursuit, but the path meanders through a jungle with bifurcations at many points, where failure of discrimination leads to disaster ; and once on the wrong path there is no going back, and the devil is cunning enough to keep his roads wide and inviting. On the capacity to distinguish between intellectual beauty and sensuous beauty depends the answer to the question whether the love of beauty is to lead to salvation or damnation.

Music and Poetry.

Music pleases the ear. Its direct action upon the intellect is almost *nil,* though its indirect action is to stimulate it in various vague ways, for the most part depending upon predisposition, passing or permanent. Poetry is music provided with a new quality, namely, the quality which increases its direct action upon the intellect, and not only stimulates it in a vague, indefinite way, but seeks direct and straightforward response from it. The nerves set in vibration by Poetry are, both in number and complexity, greater than what are shaken by pure music. Instrumental music is pure in the sense that its tingling action is almost purely limited to the optic nerves. Poetry is song with a higher value. It appeals to the intellect more directly and in a higher degree. Thoughtful songs like the *Gitanjali* of Rabindra Nath Tagore, charm exquisitely by a combination of the best music and high thought. When sung by the poet himself they produce an ecstatic effect. Swedish savants were fascinated by the intellectual element only. They would have doubled the value of the Nobel Prize if they had enjoyed the auricular aspect of the poems. When angel-like the poet exercises the head, heart and larynx together to impress their value upon the audience, the entire nervous system divinely vibrates in-response to the thought, sympathy, reverence and rhythm issuing out of the heavenly organ, entrancingly resonating through the air.

Poetry and Philosophy.

The evolution of Poetry has been towards an enhanced intellectual, at the expense of its sensuous value. Poetry utterly divested of its sensuous stimulation is degenerate. As a rule it is bad philosophy made worse by its metric rhythm. It disowns its own home and ancestry, and seeks a new domicile as 'naturalized' philosophy. It is a hermaphrodite renegade, and for several generations it is looked at askance both by philosophers and by poets. It receives a treatment similar to that of the proverbial washerman's dog which is received with cordiality neither at the laundry nor at home. Renegades, apostates, deserters, heretics and philosophic poets belong to the same spiritual class. This need not be looked upon as a disparagement. It is not yet certain whether the world as a whole has gained or lost most by orthodoxy or heterodoxy.

The primary value of poetry lies in its music. The Muses, the presiding deities who regulate its course from the top of Parnassus, are etiologically musical in character. Music is the gift of the Muses. Their primary purpose is to amuse. Enlightenment may be an adventitious addition to that purpose, but never its main purpose. They find delight in generating music, in pleasing the acoustic sense: they reveal truth as an anciliary object.

Classification of Beauty and Truth.

Beauty may be sensuous, moral or spiritual. Truth is scientific, moral or spiritual. Moral and spiritual Beauty are cognate to moral and spiritual Truth. At least there ought to be no antagonism between them. Hence Beauty is sometimes identified with Truth. This lack of discrimination has been the source of much evil. The idea that what is beautiful cannot be false, or that what is ugly cannot be true, or conversely, that what is false is not beautiful or what is true cannot be ugly, has acted prejudicially on scientific research and philosophic contemplation. It has retarded the progress of science. Some hypotheses have been persistently refused the place of honour due to a 'theory' because Beauty is not wedded to Truth in them. Take for instance, the proposition that 'the interests of society are in many ways antagonistic to those of the individual' or that 'nature preserves and improves the Race by killing off the weak individuals' or that 'population grows faster than subsistence.' These propositions give no pleasure by their Beauty, and are, therefore, scrutinized with an extraordinary measure of suspicion and scepticism. They are morally ugly propositions, and the will to believe is slow and hypercritically demurring. On the other hand, where the will is more hospitable to ugliness the result may be disastrous. A taste for ugliness is like the man-eater's taste for blood; it intensifies with practice. The proposition that the interests of society are often antagonistic to those of the individual, undoubtedly an ugly one, has in the West led to the subordination or even deliberate slaughter, of the individual to the interests of the society, so that man is deprived of his soul, and made a mortal, a mere vermin in the international relations of society. Western civilisation regards the individual as a thing of no consequence, and Western Philosophy supports it by increasingly convincing people of the absurd pretensions of the Bible which represents man as made in the image of God. In the East, people would prefer to sacrifice society or to run away from it in the interests of the individual soul as an emanation in essence of the universal soul. This is how patriotism is so strong in the West, and so weak in the East. The connection of Beauty with Truth is pregnant with the deepest meaning. It has made the East and the West so unbridgeably antipodal.

I have said Truth may be scientific, moral or spiritual. By scientific Truth I mean a proposition whose truth is undisputed. Undisputed truths such as those of Mathematics and Chemistry possess neither beauty nor ugliness. That two and two makes four or that Hydrogen and Oxygen by combination make water does not appeal to the poetic sense of man. They have no emotional value. Their intellectual value is no doubt great, but they produce no impression on the æsthetic sense of man. The law of gravitation does not tingle the feelings. Archemedes may have rapturously exclaimed "I have found it" any number of times, but the pleasure there was in the discovery, not in the nature of the Truth discovered. Truths of this kind are mechanical. They do not affect the heart. Beauty or ugliness is no concern of the researcher. He may wonder and marvel at Truth, but the latter excites no sensation of pleasure or pain in him. Further, whatever elements of Beauty scientific truths of the undisputed type may possess in the beginning, it fades quickly by familiarity and general knowledge. The fact that stars are not flowers or Chinese lamps hanging in the sky, but bodies immensely larger than the earth or even the sun may excite wonder, but the stars are not made more amiable by the discovery. Science, on the contrary, by dispelling illusions often turn beautiful lies into ugly truths, which are consequently eschewed by poets.

By Truth I particularly mean those deeper problems of life which are alternately settled and unsettled in successive epochs,—settled in the age of faith, and again unsettled in the age of reason, to be finally settled with the salvation of man, which last means the final readjustment between the aspirations and actualities of life. Time was when what are now regarded as illusions were firmly believed to be realities. We are still conscious of many illusions which under the pressure of custom and fixed habits of thought we are unable to dispel. Life has a value above the actualities in proportion as the latter are found to be inadequate and unsatisfying to our inner nature, and in proportion as new aspirations arise with the disappearance of old illusions.

The identification of Beauty and Truth would be natural and correct if human civilisation had taken the course idealised for man by the divine intellect. Human society is admittedly in a pathological condition, and like bitter medicine in disease, man requires bitter truth to restore him to moral and social health. Hence, by the economy of Nature, Beauty has come to be divorced from Truth. Poets try to sugar-coat the pill of Truth, and thereby corrupt it, and make it less wholesome. Toothsome truth is rare in Divine Pharmacy at present. Poets seek for it in vain ; and sometimes desperately discover or invent toothsome un-truths which act like poison on the moral life of man. The dissemination of untruth is natural where the search for Beauty is more ardent than the search for Truth. The poet primarily seeks Beauty and not Truth. The idea of identifying Beauty with Truth did not originally arise in the scientific, but in the poetic mind. The poet is conscious of the weakness of his position as a seeker after Beauty, and wishes to strengthen it by making it appear that his mission is in essence the same as that of the man of science. He seems to think the ordinary truths of science are insipid ; the higher truths of science are sweet, and can never be bitter. This mode of thinking by itself is the result of illusion. The differentiation of Beauty and Truth proceeds with the same velocity as the civilisation which moves in its wrong course of social inequality and want of Fraternity, consolidated into the Quadruple Empire of Man over Woman, of the Minority over Majority, of Race over Race and of the Magnified Man over the Natural Man. The Poet seeks Beauty in differentiation, and considers equality an ugly monotony. He finds beauty in subjection, parasitism and oppression. He sheds crocodile's tears over the miseries of the masses, while at heart he worships the Heroes who guide the social order in the wrong way. Not peace, but victory and vanquishment make Poesy possible. Peace is anathema, and discontent is divine in the eye of the poet. He speaks of harmony and order in divine regulation, and finds Beauty in preferential treatment and partiality. He wants to see God in solitude so that others may not see Him. This I think is the meaning of "কেউ দেখ্‌বে না, কেউ ব'লবে না" in Rabi Babu's "অম্‌নি আড়াল দিয়ে পালিয়ে গেলে চ'লবে না"।

Sensuous beauty appeals to one or more of the five senses, tactual, visual, palatal, auditory and olfactory. The tactual and palatal senses are looked at askance by men of good tastes. Poets also pretend to loathe them. Philosophers on the contrary lay emphasis on their useful qualities, which directly conduce to self-preservation and race-preservation, which are not merely means, but, in the eye of most philosophers of modern times, the end of human existence. On the other hand, the poet is nowhere if he has no taste for visual, auricular and olfactory beauties. Visual beauty is beauty proper. Auricular beauty lies in music, and olfactory beauty in perfumes. Their opposites are ugliness, noise and stench. Beauty pleases the senses; its opposite disagreeably affects them. Beauty is courted, ugliness is eschewed.

Thought and Word.

The meaning of Beauty has been enlarged with the progress of civilisation beyond the progress of language. Beauty was at first limited to objects of thought. Language has not advanced at the same pace as our experience and ideas, or we might have invented a general term applicable to the Beauty of thought and emotions, as well as of all the senses. This defect is not peculiar to the English language. Rhetoric, the right hand of poetry, is largely responsible for this shortcoming of language. The sensory nerves are different, which carry the sensation of different kinds of sensuous beauty to the nerve centre, but the ultimate effect is the same, namely, an experience of pleasantness. Philosophically speaking there ought to be a general term for this pleasantness, but Rhetoric instead of waiting for an invention artfully managed by transferring the sensation of pleasure caused by one sense to that caused by another, and ultimately to what is caused by all the senses jointly or severally.

(*To be continued*)

K. C. SEN

MANMOHAN GHOSE—THE POET

My intention to-day is not to give you a sketch of my father's life but to explain to you what seemed so inexplicable—namely, why my father never made himself or his works known. Was it shyness or sensitiveness or merely the love of solitude that prevented him from appearing in public? He was shy, he was sensitive and he loved solitude but none of these reasons explain his attitude. It was on a principle he lived in retirement. When I was old enough I tried to persuade him to come out and join in public activities but he always smiled and quoted a saying from Goethe to me "One builds a talent in the stillness, a character in the storm of the World!' And indeed if we stop to think is it not so! Milton when he battled with the world in the cause of Protestantism wrote ponderous prose which is read only by the curious scholar, but in poverty, in disgrace, when the storms of the world did not distract him, nay! when even the sight of God's fair earth was denied him, he sung the wonderful song which shall resound through the ages. You cannot be a spectator and actor of life's drama in one. The artist stands apart from the stress of the world, a silent spectator. Then in the stillness of night with only the stars overhead he commences his work. And what is it he produces? Keats has said "Beauty is truth and truth beauty." The reality of things only appears to us when clothed in forms of beauty. Famous wrestlers will come into the world, perform stunts and die, but the true wrestler who is ever the same, ever immortal, appears to us in the bronze or marble statue of the ancient sculptor. We see but the facts of life. It is the poet, the artist, the musician who show us the truths of life. And in order to portray these truths one must not be an actor but a spectator. The general cannot stand like a mere soldier at a single post but he must study the movement of the armies both friendly and hostile with the aid of a map. So, if an artist becomes an actor his sight will be focussed at one particular point and he will lose the view of the whole which is absolutely essential for him to see a thing in its true aspect. The actors of life's drama performs each his own small part but the spectator is moved by the hopes, joys and sorrows of all. So it was with my father. He held himself aloof and played the part of a spectator of the drama of life and in the stillness of night he showed its significance. That is why even during the last Great War when the world seemed to be shaken to its very foundation he could write such verses as these:

"Holy, Holy, Holy,
He is Lord of might,
All His acts enscroll ye
All He does is right.

That the world might be
Everlasting love,
His own anarchy
Broods, o'er like a dove.

With His good to strive
Evil suffers He
That joy beauty thrive
Eden bettered be.

We this grandeur power
Needs must cope resist,
That his love may flower,
Pity peace subsist.

Fear not he is wise,
Doubt not we can see
How God's paradise
Grows in history.

Glory, glory, glory
   Be to him the sum
Of whose wisdom hoary
   None may think to plumb."

Now for the second point:

Often and often I am faced with the question why it was my father never published his works? Why? My answer is, because he knew his mission. He knew that his work as an was artist to create, not to display. Display is the work of the salesman who wants to sell his goods, not of the artist whose sole duty is creation. The true artist is lost in the joy of perfecting his work. He never thinks of its display or to whom it is to be displayed. So it was with my father. He created and perfected his work never disturbing himself with thoughts of the market place—When any body urged him to publish his works, his answer always was, that that was out of his sphere, his work was to write poetry, not to bring it to the public gaze. Here is one taken at random which was written four or five years before but in which, youthful freshness, lyrical rapture, beauty of expression all vie with each other for mastery. A lover compares the beauty of his belovéd to the different moods of the day, but the whole day of her charms is as nothing to her soul.

" What is like you sweetest
   Nighest shall I say
Loveliest completes
   Image of our day.

Shall I call the dawning
   From the last to own,
Beauty breaks her morning
   From your eyes alone.,

Or shall forenoon bluest
   Mounting stoop to speak,
Day's bright surge is truest
   Only on your cheek.

Shall I noonday glory
Challenge to allow
Her white ray the story
But of your fair brow.

For your voice's loiter
Tone and lingering tune,
Shall I reconnoitre
Golden afternoon ;

Or for all that's tender
In your smile, desire
Evening to surrender
Her soft pensive fire.

Day is but the dial
Of your loveliness,
Never though he try all
Can his hours express.

Can his quarters measure
Charm for ever new,
Can his minutes treasure
All the wealth of you..

Day of your completeness
Fails can little show,
Youthful soul of sweetness
Only love can know."

My father has done his work in constructing. What difficulties he had to strive against in his work of composition! His life was no smooth path of roses. In youth he had to struggle against poverty and want. His Oxford career was once interrupted for lack of funds and he spent many winters in the intense cold of London without a fire. When he returned and attained a position of financial ease, the happiness of his life was clouded by the chronic illness of my mother whom he nursed with a tenderness and devotion no woman can equal. The shock of my mother's death completely broke his health. Illness after illness came, blindness attacked him but still he went on producing and perfecting. His genius struggled against and manifested itself through ill-health, routine work and unfavourable circumstances. Yet in my father's poems is embodied the message of India, the philosophy of life. She has been trying to teach always,—the supreme goodness inherent in all things. All my father's poems, even the very saddest repeat the same message of hope ineffable, faith unshaken. It is a perpetual—

"Holy, holy, holy,
He is Lord of might
All his acts enscroll ye
All he does is right."

This is his message to war-spent, weary Europe, to the world and it will come like refreshing rain after prolonged drought. When his first poems, as an undergraduate, were published, Oscar Wilde commenting on my father's verses wrote:

> "His verses show us how quick are the intellectual sympathies of the oriental mind and suggested how close is the bond of union that may some day bind India to us by other methods than those of commerce and military strength. Mr. Ghose ought one day to make a name in our literature."

This is much to say for one of the most prominent literary men of the times of the verses of an undergraduate of nineteen or twenty. What would Oscar Wilde have said if had lived to see the mature works of my father? When his works are published let not the appreciation come from Europe alone.—Let it not be said in after years that his own country men ignored him![1]

LOTIKA GHOSE

---

[1] Paper read at the Memorial Meeting held under the presidency of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on the 9th March, 1924.

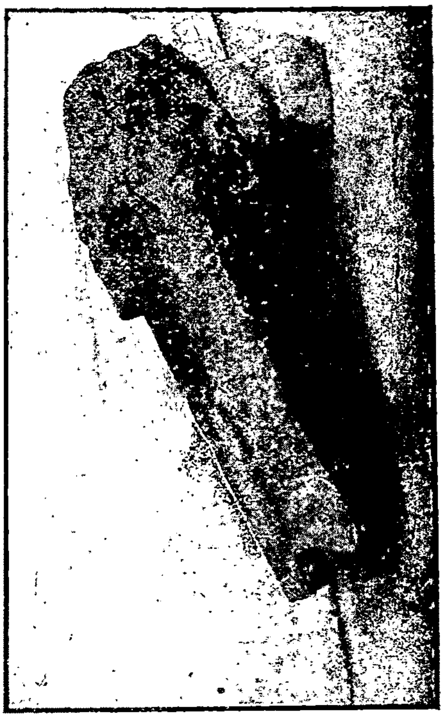
THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOME VILLAGES OF EASTERN BENGAL

A few months ago my attention was first drawn to the antiquities of some villages of Eastern Bengal, by a broken pillar recovered about 15 years ago by Mr. K. K. Sen in course of the excavation of a tank at Dasora in the sub-division of Manickgunj. It was discovered, as the report goes, at a level of about 18 ft. from the surface of the earth and it had been kept at the house of Babu Purna Chandra Sen all these fifteen years till it was made over to us on the 6th of September, 1923, by a relative of mine Mr. Nripatikanta Roy, M.A., of Dasora. It has since then been lying under my custody. Roughly speaking the villages, referred to above, cover an area of about twenty miles from Dasora on the east to Dhamrai on the west.

The readers will see from Plate I that the stone-slab, recovered from the village of Dasora, is only a small portion of what was originally an octagonal pillar of considerable height, and even this portion is sadly mutilated. Only a part of the base may be said to be in a tolerable state of preservation, while the greater part of the shaft and the whole of the capital have been chopped off. The central portion, on each face with the exception of the fourth, which is entirely blank and from which apparently a slice of stone, measuring about 5 inches in width and 2 inches in thickness have been hewn away, is an elevated space of 6 inches in width, decorated by flowers rising out of the vase with leaves hanging on two sides of the base. The slab measures 2 ft. in height.

The question may now be asked—to what date we should assign this pillar? Dr. Vincent Smith in his "Fine art in India and Ceylon," while discussing the evolution of the Gupta style of ornament on pillars, takes up an example from a monastery at Sarnath as typical of its class in the 6th-7th

PLATE I



The broken pillar recovered from Dasora

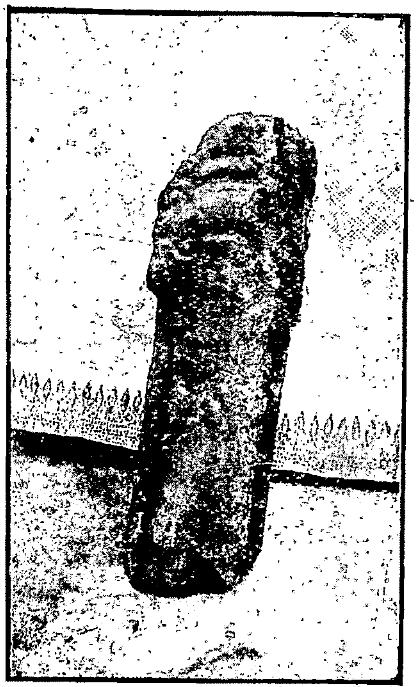
century.[1] Dr. Marshall gives the following description of the Sarnath pilaster[2] "Pilaster (Plate XXVI, 7) 3⅓′ high, decorated in the style of the later Gupta period, of which the treatment of these designs is peculiarly characteristic. The imitative jewel work, the garland-bearing birds, the makara, *the flower and the vase with palmettes at the corners,* the rosette border and the little figure in the niche below are motifs well worth noticing." The readers are requested to notice that the broken pillar from Dasora has much essential agreement with the Sarnath pilaster, so far as the main motif at least (*i.e.*, the vase and the flower) is concerned, with slight technical differences, of course, which may be probably due to variations of local craftsmanship. There are other points of agreement also, for example, the makara of the Sarnath pilaster seems to be present in some form just over the flowers on one side of the Dasora slab. As this is but an altogether poor relic of its former self, we have no means to understand what its characteristic features were, when complete, over and above those we have already noted. Following the lines of Dr. Smith's argument and making ample concessions for certain differences in style, which can only be explained by a considerable distance of time, we think that it can safely be assigned to the 9th or 10th century. The fact that the pillar was recovered at a level of 18 ft from the surface of the earth, is certainly very difficult to explain. I do not, however, see any reason why the report should be disbelieved. Expert archæologists can

---

[1] Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 166.

[2] The Pravashi, 1318 B. S. and the Pratibha, 1319 B. S.

PLATE II



The flower and the vase (another view)

say how long it takes to form a stratum of earth 18 ft. removed from the ground and also in what a variety of ways this phenomenon can be explained. While leaving this question for their solution, I should not hesitate to suggest that Dasora's claims to antiquity can only be strengthened, rather than weakened, by whatever be the considered opinion of scholars on this point.

At first it seems rather strange that this broken pillar was the only interesting thing discovered in course of the excavation of the Dasora tank. But it should be mentioned in this connection that not only this but some other neighbouring villages also are full of antiquities which are of great historical importance. Bricks, decorated with the images of Buddha, are met with in abundant numbers at a village named Sabhara,[1] which lies at a distance of about 16 miles to the east of Dasora. Two or three mounds, which, if excavated, may yield results of far-reaching interest, are to be found at Vājāsana [2] (an abbreviation of the Buddhist Vajrasana),[3] which is about 8 or 10 miles from Dasora. About 10 miles to the S. E. of Dasora is the village of Suapur, where an extensive underground wall has been discovered, and at Dhamrai, about 15 miles to the east of Dasora, pillars though not exactly like the one represented in Plate I, are not infrequently to be met with. Babu Ambika Charan Chuckervarty, M.A., Head-master of the Dhamrai H. E. School, has written several letters to us, in course of which he has informed us of the existence of several stone-slabs at the village, one of which at least has been found to contain an inscription in Arabic characters on one side and certain figures of gods and animals on the other. The teacher of Arabic at the Dhamrai School has kindly sent us a rough sketch of the images and a facsimile of the inscription with a literal translation in Bengali. But unfortunately the drawings do not give us a very accurate idea of the figures, of which the Headmaster says, "the Hindu images are in bas-relief, in some places they are little less than half an inch deep." He also mentions that the "noses of these figures seem to have been cut down." The stone-slab measures 3 ft. 3 in. by 1 foot. I give below in translation the sense of the inscription of which a facsimile has been sent to us.[1] "God has said that those only build mosques, who have faith in the day of resurrection and that of dissolution. Mohammad, the Prophet, has said that those who build Masjids on earth with the object of giving joy are provided by God with habitation in heaven. This masjid has been built under the auspices of Abul Muzaffar Shah, Sultan-ibn-sultan, who has been helped in this by God, who is the protector of the Musalmans, who is the son of a king and himself the monarch, the pride of this and the next world. May God perpetuate and ennoble his kingdom, his sovereignty and his manly virtues.

---

[1] The Prabashi.

[2] See the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapala, Epigraphica Indica, Vol. IV, p. 242.

[3] See the Prabashi.

"This Masjid is dedicated to Hazrat Mohammad, the spiritual conqueror, the king of kings and the true sovereign of the Moslem world.

"Oh the king! May Allah give you protection in heaven!

"Hijira—886 etc."

The Arabic inscription, therefore, shows that a Masjid was built by Abul Muzaffar Shah, Sultan-ibn-sultan in H. 886, *i.e.*, 1481 A.D. Whatever divinities and animals the figures on the other side of the slab may represent, there is substantial reason for inferring that this slab of stone and others, met with at Dasora and Dhamrai, must have been utilised in some Hindu or Buddhistic institution, which stood within or in the neighbourhood of the area, already indicated, and which has disappeared on account of the ravages of time and of human agency. Babu Ambikacharan Chakravarti mentions some more pillars, two of which, he says, are about $4\frac{3}{4}$ cubits in length and are now lying in the compound of a mosque adjacent to the Dhamrai Bazar. So far as the Dasora pillar is concerned, we are told that there is a long-standing tradition, pointing to the spot, which yielded it fifteen years ago, as a very ancient site of Hindu temples. Cld men of the locality speak from their memory when they inform us that many years ago, there stood a temple of the goddess Kali on this particular spot. Judging, however, from the deep-rooted and wide-spread character of the tradition, we may not be considered wrong in holding that this was probably a much earlier centre of religious activities than the existence of a temple of Kali can possibly indicate. If this surmise of ours is true, then the difficulty of hitting on the likely site of the institution, we have already referred to, is considerably reduced and a thorough-going investigation can at once be instituted which may result in fruitful discoveries.

---

[1] In Blochmann's "Notes on Arabic and Persian Inscriptions," published in J. A. S. B., Vol. XVI, Part 1, 1872, pp. 109-10 mention is made of an inscription of the time of Jaláluddunyá Waddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh, H. 886, found at Dhamrai. The titles and names in the two inscriptions are almost similar and the date are about the same. Probably these refer to one and the same Sultan.

The name 'Dhamrai' itself is highly significant. Some scholars have pointed out that this word is an abbreviation of 'Dharmarajika.' I do not know how far this theory can be supported from the philological point of view. But in many old documents this village of Dhamrai has been actually mentioned as Dharmarajika, an argument which is sufficiently strong to meet the contentions that may presumably be raised by philologists. In a Bengali document, 248 years old (1082 B.S.) of which a facsimile has been given in Mr. Jatindra Mohan Ray's, 'Daccar Itihasa' (Vol. II, p. 20) we find 'Dhamrai' mentioned as 'Dharmarajika.' The word 'Dharmarajika' is a familiar term in the Buddhist literature. In the Divyavadana [1] it is said that Asoka, the great Maurya Emperor, built 84,000 [2] *dharmarajikas* for the propagation of his favourite

---

[1] See Divyavadana, p. 379.

[2] V. Smith's Asoka, p. 107.

Dharma. May we not, therefore, suppose[1] that the present village of Dhamrai covered one of those numerous areas which were sanctified by the associations of Asoka's Buddhistic propaganda in the 3rd century B.C.? Nothing can now be definitely said on the probability of this theory. But there is no doubt that the statement, made by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang[2] in the 7th century A.D., that in his time there was to be seen an Asokan Stupa in Samatata (East Bengal)[3] lends material support to the suggestion, set forth above with regard to the antiquity of Dhamrai, as this clearly shows that such monuments were not rare in the eastern districts of Bengal. It deserves mention in this connection that in the Sarnath inscription of the time of[4] Mahipala we are told that a 'Dharmarajika' at Sarnath was repaired under the direction of Sthirapala and his younger brother Vasantapala. This 'Dharmarajika' was believed by Dr. Vogel to have been the same as the famous Dhamek stupa of Sarnath. But this is no longer tenable. Prof. Foucher has put a pertinent emphasis on the interpretation of the term 'Dharmarajika,' which can be applied in his opinion to an Asokan monument alone. The present condition of Dhamrai also does not preclude the possibility of its being a very ancient place. It is more a town than a village and has a population numbering more than 20,000 people, the locality richly abounding in reminiscences of an age, gone by, of glory and prosperity. Other evidences in support of the antiquity of the village of Dhamrai will be discussed later on.

That Eastern Bengal was specially noted for its great Buddhistic activities is a fact which cannot be doubted by any scholar. Eastern Bengal was the home of such towering Buddhist personalities as Atisha Dipankar and Silabhadra, the teacher of Hiuen Tsang. It-sing, who paid a visit to India late in the 7th century A.D. came to Harikela[1] which has been identified by some scholars with the Dacca district. It was in his time a busy centre of Buddhism in Bengal.[2] The preponderance of the Mohammedan element in the population of Eastern Bengal is to be explained by the assumption that this part of Bengal contained in the pre-Moslem days a far greater element of low-class men than elsewhere, a feature which made itself prominent in the age of decadent Buddhism,[3] when Hindu revivalists were trying to evolve out a new social order in Bengal. These so-called low classes of men chiefly embraced the faith of Islam when the trumpet call of social equality in the fraternity of the Faithful was reverberating from one end of India to the other.

---

[1] Daccar Itihasa, Vol. II, p. 20.

[2] Watter's Hiuen Tsang, II, p. 187.

[3] Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of India, p. 164.

[4] Gauḍalekhamala, edited by Mr. A. K. Maitra, pp. 108-109.

In view of the fact that there are such and many other evidences, all pointing to Eastern Bengal having once been a favourite seat of Buddhism, we need not receive with any feeling of surprise the news that at Dāsora some form of Nath-worship is prevalent to this day. It is well-known that Nathism in Bengal originated in the movement that was started about the 10th or 11th century to arrive at a compromise between decadent Buddhism and nascent Hinduism. The Nāth leaders accepted Siva and Parvati as their spiritual guides. The position of the Nāthists with regard to Hindu gods and goddesses is very strikingly revealed in the following lines, quoted from poet Sheikh Faizulla's 'Gorakshavijaya' or the 'Triumph of Goraksha,' edited by Munshi Abdul Karim from the Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta.[4]

" Tabe puni ānga kaila Nāth Niranjan.
Hara Gauri hoye tabe ekahi jīban
Ānga kailā Hara prāti pailā ehi nārī
Tahare loia jao Hara mōre āngādhari.

---

[1] The map in Takakusu's 'Itsing.'

[2] The Vanglar Itihasa by R. D. Banerjee, Vol. I.

[3] Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Sastri's Introduction to N. N. Vasu's Modern Buddhism.

[4] Goraksha Vijaya, p. 9.

Hara Gauri chali jao prithivir māja
Ethạte rahile tomhi nāhi kono kāja
Prabhur āngā paia tabe khitite aila
Khitita āsiā siddhā sakala rahila.

It appears from the above that Nath Niranjan, who was identical with the Buddhist god Dharma, commanded Hara to accept Gauri as his life's companion and to come down to the world to accomplish His sacred purpose. At the instance of Prabhu (Dharma) they appeared in this mortal world and the Siddhas, who had also descended to the earth, rallied round them. It is thus clearly shown that though Dharma Thakur, the popular god of the latter-day Buddhists, still retained his supreme position in the minds of its devotees, yet he was gradually surrendering his rank to Siva and Gauri, and apparently this process of *rapprochement*, as may be called, between the two rival religions in Bengal, was intensely quickened by the Nāth leaders, Gorakshanath and others, in favour of Hinduism.

From what has already been said with regard to the attitude of the Nāth cult to Siva-Parvati, it will not be a mistake to assume that the progress of Saivism in Bengal received a great impulse at the hands of its active propagators. From this time the worship of Siva must have begun to be increasingly popular in Bengal. In the Sivalaya at Dasora there is an apartment, where several Pāt thakurs are kept and where Gorakshanath, the famous leader of the Nāth cult, is worshipped, thus showing the original intimacy between Nathism and Saivism in our province. Mr. Nripatikumar Ray, M.A., writes to us a letter from Dasora, in which he says that "the Hindus and the Musalmans alike first offer to Gorakshanath the milk of their cows after these have given birth to calves." The Siva-lingam at the Sivalaya of Dasora is thus described by Mr. Ray in his letter, "Siva is placed horizontally in a pit, 14 ft. in depth, 18 ft. in height and 18 ft. in length. The exterior of the lingam is not smooth but very rough so much so that if one's hand brushes against it, the hand is pained. It is difficult to say of what kind of stone it is made." It appears from the above description that the lingam at Dasora is one of the Daivaka kind, about which the late Mr. Gopinath Rao wrote:[1] "They may be of the shape of a flame or resemble a pair of hands held in the anjali pose ; they may *have rough exterior with elevations and depressions, deep hollows and scars...........*" (The italics are ours). That the lingam is rather unusually kept in a deep pit[2] and that it has no pitha are points wellworth noticing and these may indeed refer to a very remote past. The priests who are in charge of this deity are "Virāchāri-Dharmis" and they are to remain unmarried in their lives. Mr. Ray in his letter mentions the following local tradition about the origin of this sect: "The sage Kasyapa had a daughter named Krishnā. This daughter, the sage offered to Vindunath, who had ten sons by her. These constituted the Nath family. Of these Giri, Puri, Bharati and Vana are the chief ; the six others are house-holders and hence inferior to the former. The present priest belongs to the Giri family." It does not concern us at present to hazard any interpretation on this tradition as to the origin of the Nāthists, but it is quite evident from the above that the lingam at Dasora is worshipped by a line of priests, who belong to the Nāth cult. Vindunath, who has been assumed in this legend as the founder of the "Nāth family" is known to be a very prominent figure in the history of the Nāth cult in Bengal.

We have already stated that in the village of Dasora worship is offered to Gorakshanath, one of the foremost leaders of the Nāth cult. Here again we meet with a lingam, which is intimately connected with the rites and observances of the Nāthists. The conclusion seems to be rather irresistible that this village and its neighbourhood must have been specially noted for the zeal and activities of the promoters of this cult in the early stage of its development. The Sivavāri locality in the village of Dasora still continues to be a place of intense attraction during the Sivarātri festival, on which occasion hundreds of pilgrims from the surrounding villages meet here to pay their homage to the god, who is believed by the simple rustic folk to possess great powers. A fair or mela sits here on every Sivaratri day and continues for three days. People come here from villages, far and near, and open shops. Dasora assumes the sanctity and importance of a regular place of pilgrimage and even Sadhus and Sannyasis are noticeable in large numbers in the thick crowd of visitors that gathers on the occasion of the Sivaratri festival. We are informed that a special importance is attached to the Siva-lingam on account of the belief that is universally shared by the women of this and the surrounding villages as well that if this god is pleased to grant boons, they have the power of removing the sin for which children cannot live long or are born dead. There is a tank, named the Jiyash Pukur here, where unfortunate mothers, who have experienced frequent losses of children, are to perform ablutions. To the south of the tank there is an old banyan tree, which the women, after their ablutions, are to embrace and to forthwith take the vow that if they give birth to living children, they will among other duties sacrifice goats to Siva. On one Monday in every month they are to observe fast and this for a period of 18 months. What is very curious to note in this connection is the practice of sacrificing animals to Siva which obtains at Dasora. There is no doubt that the practice of offering sacrifices to Siva goes back to a period of considerable antiquity and its origin must be placed in a period when the non-Aryans had their own Siva, distinct from the Rudra-Siva of the Vedic times. We are informed that "at the time of the Mahabharata, animals seem to have been offered systematically as sacrifices in the temple of Siva."[1] It is far from our object to say that we can easily establish the antiquity of a particular area and push it back at least to the Mahabharata age[2] simply by noticing there the survival of a very ancient practice. As a matter of fact there may be many more villages in Bengal where animals are still sacrificed in the name of Siva. It can, however, be definitely concluded that such practices as these linger only in those parts of our country which were less thoroughly open to later purifying classical influences, which we so profusely notice in the Saiva literature of Bengal from the 16th to the 19th century, than other localities where Siva is worshipped to-day in the purest and most innocent manner possible. The sacrifice of animals to the Siva-lingam, which forms an interesting feature of its worship at Dasora, seems to us to be a survival of that period of our history when Tantrikism was rampant throughout Bengal and when it had invaded every part of our thought and existence. We have already referred to the Jiyash-pukur, which is believed by the villagers to be endowed with the power of restoring the dead to life. Evidences are not lacking to shew that tanks and wells and trees were usually invested with esoteric powers all over the country in the age of Tantrikism. There is, again, a rite connected with this interesting Siva-lingam, to which the attention of the readers should be drawn. There is a custom, according to which the eldest scion of the Datta family of Dasora has to imprint a *tilak* mark on the forehead of every new Mohant on the occasion of his appointment to this post with the blood to be shed from the former's fingers. It admits of explanation why the Dattas above others are so intimately associated with the Sivalaya of Dasora. It is quite possible that the Dattas had an important hand in the introduction of the worship of the present Siva-lingam and this filial relation as it were between the Datta family and the Sivalaya has been sought to be commemorated through the long succession of years in the manner indicated above. The next thing that it proves is the particularly Tantric character of the whole rite which could not have originated except in an age steeped in Tantrikism. In all the various genealogical works of Bengal Dasora has been uniformly mentioned as one of the 27 early seats of the Vaidyas in Bengal. We are all aware that there is much that is chaotic and also misleading in these accounts and that to build up sober history out of the materials, supplied by this source, is, to speak in the least, a highly difficult task, requiring many years of patient and searching study.[1] But for our present purposes what is important to note is the striking unanimity with which all the genealogical authorities maintain the antiquity of Dasora. Kavikanthahara, one of such authorities, was written in 1575 and Chaturbhuja lived much earlier than this. According to these accounts, therefore, Dasora was already regarded as an ancient place in the 15th and 16th centuries.[2] It is not improbable on the strength of these evidences that the history of Dasora as a seat of the Vaidya community must have begun as early as the 12th century, when the Dattas are believed to have settled at the village. Thus the probable date of the settlement of the Datta family at Dasora roughly coincides with the age of the activities of the Nāthists and Tantriks in Bengal. There are conclusive proofs to show that the Dattas were once one of the foremost and wealthiest families of Dasora and its neighbourhood.

---

[1] The Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. 2, Part V, p. 86.

[2] During my visit to Bhubaneswar, two years ago, I remember to have noticed several instances where Siva-lingams are similarly kept,

---

[1] See Gopinath Rao's The Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part II, p. 50.

[2] Animal sacrifices were offered to Siva even in the age of the Gṛhyasūtras. See R. G. Bhandarkar's History of Vaisnavism, Saivism, p. 105.

---

[1] Pargiter's monumental work—"The Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age" is an achievement in the field of political history. For the purposes of the study of social history these genealogical records may be similarly tested in a strictly critical spirit and found useful.

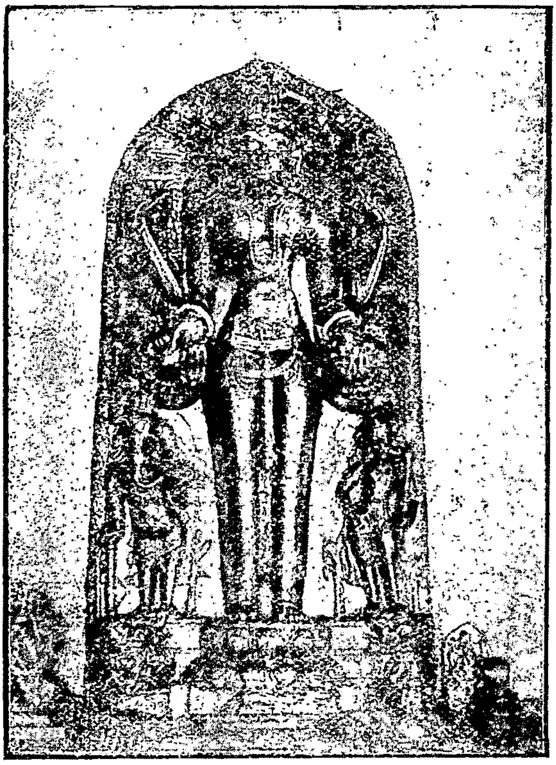
[2] सेनहट्टः पयोग्रामश्चन्दनीमहलस्तथा । दशवाटी भेड़ावल्ली दापन्दी मुगिलहाटिकः । आड़पाड़ा मुभेराढ़ातेघरिण्यरमल्लिका । पञ्चक्रुशी च तेनारी नागेरहट्ट एव च ॥ मेघक्षामी रोहाटिकन्नो जामतेल मिद्दिलपुरं । विक्रमपुरं पौरादीनां दत्तानां दाशड़ा श्रतव ।

They are still held in much repute in the locality and the big Khāla at Dasora, which is its chief glory, is attributed to their munificence by popular tradition.

The Siva-vāri, already referred to, is a centre of immense archæological interest. Over and above the images, we have already described, it contains the following:—

(1) Tripura Bālā Bhairavi or Siddhesvari. Plate III gives a photograph of this image, supplied to us by Rai Bahadur Sarada Prasad Sen, Retired District Judge. There is an apartment in the Siva-vāri, where this image along with others to be noted below, are kept and which is known to the people as the temple of Bhairavi. This is a stone image, measuring about 5½ft. in height and 3ft. in breadth. The central figure

PLATE III



The image of Siddhesvari at Dasora

is that of Siddhesvari, who stands on a lotus and has four arms, the upper right hand carrying akshamala or the beads and the lower right being in the Varada pose. Ganesa and Kartika stand to the right and left of Siddhesvari respectively. The right hand of Ganesa is placed on a parasu. Barring, of course, certain apparent defects, the figure of Kartikeya seems to be particularly striking and well-executed. On the right side of the pedestal, where jackals and other animals are present, we notice a pair of devotees. There are two on the two sides of the central image. The extreme attenuation of Siddhesvari's waist, the disproportionate chest and the conventional stiff legs—all these mark the image out as a work of later art. But it is interesting to observe a striking resemblance between this image and that of the goddess Tara, belonging to the second year of Rāmapāla's reign and now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[1] For all these reasons it seems highly probable that the Siddhesvari of Dasora belongs to a time mid-way between the date of the Tārā image of Rāmapāla's time and that of the famous Chandi image, recovered from Dacca and produced in the third regnal year of Laksmana Sena (Srī-mat-Laksmana-Sena-devasya saṁ 3).[2]

(2) An image of Madhava, 2 ft. high.
(3) An image of Vasudava, 2 ft. high.
(4) A Siva-lingam, about 2 ft. in height.
(5) An image of Ganesa, etc., etc., 6 inches high.

As I have not yet been able to procure photographic representations of the above, I am unfortunately not in a position to discuss their historical value.

In course of this article I have referred to Dhamrai, a very flourishing village about 15 miles to the east of Dasora. The great attraction of Dhamrai is its Yasomadhava, which is attributed by local tradition to Yasopala, said to have been a contemporary of the notorious Kalapahar of the 16th century.[1] On the occasion of the Rath-yātrā festival, which is celebrated every year with great pomp and magnificence, about a lakh of people gather at this village, reminding one of the Rath-yātrā festival in honour of Jagannath at Puri. This has given an altogether unparalleled distinction to Dhamrai amongst the villages of Eastern Bengal. The Yasomadhava is made of wood and is thickly overlaid with coatings of paint, added from time to time. It is very interesting to note that clay miniatures of this image of Yasomadhava are produced in numbers by the local artists, which are greatly in demand. Dr. Chandrasekhar Kali has told me that previously at his native village of Dhamrai wooden miniatures also used to be manufactured. Babu Ambikacharan, Head Master, Dhamrai H. E. School, writes to say that "wooden likeness of Yasomadhava is not available in the market. There was a carpenter who could successfully make the image, but he is no more in this world. Earthen likeness is more easily available."[2] Thus an useful local art, which is not yet dead, grew up and flourished under the patronage of pilgrims who used to come and still do so to visit the Yasomadhava of Dhamrai from distant villages of Bengal. Souvenirs, as these may rightly be called, were very commonly met with in Europe and India in mediæval times.[3] Though, therefore, we do not see any reason to dispute the truth of the popular tradition, ascribing the present Yasomadhava to Yasopala of the 16th century, we are led to suppose that this is but a copy of still earlier ones, similarly made of Nima wood, which had all successively perished. Only by an assumption like this can we explain the vast importance of the present Yasomadhava in the estimation of the people of Eastern Bengal. A particular locality cannot suddenly grow into prominence and outshine the surrounding villages, as Dhamrai notably does. The Yasomadhava, therefore, has in all probability a much longer history than is at present supposed.

---

[1] See Vānglār Itihasa by R. D. Banerjee, Vol. I, p. 268, and plate 18.

[2] J.A.S.B., Plate XXIII, Vol. IX, p. 290.

---

[1] Pratibha, 1319 B. S., p.

[2] *Cf.* the miniatures of Kāli and Jagannath, produced at Kalighat and Puri respectively.

[3] See Foucher's Beginnings of the Buddhist Art, Chap. I.

In conclusion, I beg to make more than a mere passing reference to an ingenious theory, that was propounded sometime ago in the pages of a Bengali Journal,[1] regarding the antiquity of the tract of country now represented by Baniajuri, Dasora and Sabhāra. It was there pointed out that these names in almost their present forms appear in Ptolemy's map of India, which belongs to the 2nd century A.D. How are we to explain this fact? The suggestion was made that probably the villages of Baniajuri, Dasora and Dhamrai were known to Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D., more so, as their present relative positions, geographically speaking, are almost exactly the same as we find in Ptolemy's map. For a proper understanding of the issues, raised by this theory, we think it would be better if we could discuss the problem at some length. We find in Ptolemy's map that Dosara (142°30′-22°30′)[2] is an important town on the western side of the river Adams and is bounded on the west by the river Dosaron. The country of the Sabarae is just to the west of the territory of the Gangaridae, and is watered on the west by the Dosaron and on the east by the westernmost mouth of the Ganges, the Kambyson. Bênogorum (140°-20° 15′) is to the south-east of Dosara and also of the country of the Sabarae. Nobody can deny that there are many obvious difficulties, which confront us in accepting the theory stated above. The greatest of these is the fact that these rivers, the Adams and the Dosaron are entirely disconnected with the Gangetic river-system of Bengal. They flow from the eastern range of the Vindhyas (Ouxenton Mons). Against these are to be taken into consideration certain points, which can be adduced in support of the theory advocated. The coincidence of names, which does not appear to be purely accidental, almost the same juxtaposition of these places in Ptolemy's map as we observe in their geographical position to-day and, last but not least, want of any inherent improbability of the antiquity of this area, going back to the 2nd century A.D. are well worth consideration. It may be pointed out here for refreshing the memory of our readers that Lassen[1] identified the Dosarôn with the Vaitarini and the Adams with the Subarnarekha. He identified Dosara with Doesa in the hill country of Chutia Nagpur. Yule[2] on the other hand identified the Dosaron with the Brahmani and the Adams with the Vaitarini and he placed Dosara "towards the territory of Sambalpur,...... which produced the finest diamonds in the world." Against these identifications Professor V. Ball,[3] in his presidential address to the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, 1883, says, "The Adams river of Ptolemy, according to Lassen's analysis of the data, was not identical with the Mahanadi, as I have suggested in my 'Economic Geology,' but with the Subarnarekha, which is, however, so far as we know, not a diamond-bearing river, nor does it at any part of its course traverse rocks of the age of those which contain the matrix in other parts of India. The Adams river was separated from the Mahanadi by the Tyndis and Dosaron; the latter, according to Lassen, taking its rise in the country of Kokkonaga (*i.e.*, Chutia Nagpur), and to which the chief town Dosara (the modern Doesa) gave its name. But according to this view, the Dosaron must have been identical with the modern Brahmani............I cannot regard this identification as satisfactory, as it does not account for the Tyndis intervening between the Dosaron and Mahanadi, since, as a matter of fact, the Brahmani and Mahanadi are confluent at their mouths. Lassen, however, identifies the Dosaron with the

---

[1] Itihasa-o-Alochana, II Vol., 1328 B.S.

[2] McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 171.

---

[1] *Ibid* pp. 71, 172.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 71. 173.

[3] *Ibid*, Appendix, p. 333.

Baiturnee, and the Tyndis with the Brahmani. This destroys the force of his remark, as to the origin of the name of the former, since at its nearest point it is many miles distant from Doesa." Mr. Banbury and Col. Yule, again have pointed out certain glaring errors in the identification suggested by Lassen. It has been my endeavour in the above to effectively shew that nothing like a finality has yet been attained in the matter of the identification of these places, and that different scholars have expressed different opinions in accordance with the best light of their individual judgment only. The question, therefore, is still open to discussion. Whatever may be the value of the above identifications, they all uniformly imply that Bengal was much smaller in extent in Ptolemy's time than its present natural boundaries. Saint Martin actually held that, " Bengal represents, at least in a general way, the country of the Gangaridae." We do not find sufficient justification for a statement like this which unnecessarily cuts down the extent of this province. It seems, therefore, not at all improbable that Bengal was not simply conterminous with the country of the Gangaridae but embraced a further slice of territory on the west and on the south, thus bringing it much closer to Orissa.[1] In that case part of the country of the Sabarae would be found included within Bengal. Next, we may suppose that Ptolemy committed a serious blunder in locating Dosara and the Sabarae and instead of putting them within the country of the Gangaridae, placed them to the west of the river-system of Bengal. That Ptolemy is capable of committing such mistakes and even far more grievous errors is too well-known to be mentioned here.[2] We cannot say if ever that fortunate day will come when all controversies regarding the identification of these will finally be closed, but till then all rational suggestions, however startling they may seem at the outset, are equally welcome.

---

[1] See the map in Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.

[2] McCrindle's Ptolemy—Encyclopædia Britannica.

We have tried to shew in the above that indications of the antiquity of Dhamrai, Dasora and some other villages of Eastern Bengal are somewhat continuous from the 9th or 10th century. The question whether their history can go so far back as the age of Asoka or the 2nd century A. D. when Ptolemy flourished, cannot at the present stage of our knowledge, be definitely answered, one way or the other. But on the strength of the evidences brought forward, this much at least should be said that our suggestions cannot be categorically dismissed as altogether unjustifiable but that they may be accepted as reasonable hypotheses which may be proved or disproved by our progressive researches in this direction. When in the cold weather of 1922 the excavation of the Paharpur site at Rajshahi was commenced, it was looked upon as a move in the right direction. If it is true that these remote villages of Eastern Bengal are so old as the time of Asoka or the 2nd century A. D. or even the 9th or 10th century A. D., for which we have positive evidences, then may we not ask what steps are being taken for exploring their lost history? The ever-renewed shiftings of the violent and capricious rivers of Eastern Bengal have undoubtedly cast many old things into the depth of oblivion. Let us see to what greater doom our own forgetfulness and indifference condemn the treasures that are still there and that can yet be recovered. The history of Bengal will be imperfect without an account of her ancient villages.

BENOY CHANDRA SEN

BIR SINGH DEO

It was in January, 1894, when I was Assistant Inspector of Schools of the then newly constituted Bundelkhand Educational Division, that I first paid a visit to Orchhá, the old capital of the rulers of Bundelkhand and was struck with the solitary grandeur of the place. I was then, among other things, shown the temple in which the image of Ráma in a sitting posture had been installed by Mahárání Ganesh De Jú, queen of Mahárájá Madhukar Sáh, the story of whose devotion to the Lord I had heard in Ajodhyá in my childhood.[1] I was also shown the palace which Bir Singh Deo had built for Jehangir when the Emperor was his guest in Orchhá. I paid a visit also to the historic fortress of Jhansi[2] which was built by Bir Singh Deo and which is famous now for its heroic defence by the brave Rání Lakshmí Báí. The duty of inspecting schools in four districts in a bad country like Bundelkhand gave me no time then for further enquiries and it was not till 1895 when I worked in connection with settlement operations in Lalitpur, that happening to be acquainted with a representative of the Bánpur branch of the Bundela Raj family, Díwan Bijai Bahádur Mazbút Singh, I came to know much more about Bir Singh Deo, from his history of Bundelkhand, a book which was subsequently translated into English by Mr. Silberrad and published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1902.

---

[1] It is said that the Rání had brought the image from Ajodhyá and placed it in the temple. This image like ordinary images was in a standing posture and the pious worshipper out of respect remained standing before it for several days. When requested to sit down, she said, "How can I sit when the Lord is standing?" The image then sat down and it is so to the present day.

[2] The Rájá of Jaitpur was on a visit to Bir Singh in Orchhá. They were both sitting on the roof of the palace when Bir Singh pointed out his new fort in the distance asking the Jaitpur Raja if he saw it. The Raja replied "*woh jhain si dikhe hai.*" 'You mean the fort which is dimly seen like a shadow' and ever since the place became known as *Jháin si* or Jhansi. The fort was greatly enlarged by Naru Shankar, a Mahratta leader who made it his headquarters in 1744.

To students of Indian history, Bir Singh Deo is known as the murderer of Akbar's famous minister Abul Fazl. To students of law, he is known as the patron of Mitra Misra, author of the *Virámitrodaya,* an encyclopædia of religion, law, ethics and other subjects, the law portion of which is one of the standard books of the Benares School on Hindu Law of Inheritance; the name of the book immortalises the patron (*Vira* Singh Deo) and the author (*Mitra* Misra). In Bundelkhand he is known as a mighty builder who has left many monuments of his activity in this direction as the great palace forts at Orchhá and Datia, the Chaturbhuj temple, and many other edifices within and without the limits of Central India testify. "On Sunday, the 5th *Magh Sudi* V. S. 1675 (December, 1618), the foundations of 52 buildings are said to have been laid."[1]

Nor were these activities confined to the construction of edifices. He built three large tanks in his territories called after each word in his name, the Bir Sagar in Orchhá, the Singh Sagar in Kundar and the Deo Sagar at Dinara. He also repaired at great expense the Madan Sagar in Jatara, built originally by the Chandel King Madan Varma.

His piety and his charity were unsurpassed. The magnificent temple of Keshava Deo which he built in Muttra on the site of the birth-place of Lord Krishna at a cost of 33 lakhs and which was seen by Tavernier in 1650 and Bernier in 1663 and a description of which as given by the former appears in Growse's *Memoirs of Muttra District,* page 66,[2] was destroyed in 1669 in the eleventh year of the reign of Aurangzeb who had descended in person on Muttra. In Muttra, Bir Singh had himself weighed with gold and other articles, the aggregate weight of all of which amounted to 81 maunds and which were subsequently distributed among the Brahmans. The balance used is still kept in the Bisrant ghat of Muttra. He performed the *Chándráyan vrat*, one of the most difficult fasts in Hindu religion. As an example of his strict sense of justice it is said that on one occasion he had his eldest son Jagat Deo put to death as the young man while hunting had allowed his hound to kill a hermit.

---

[1] *Orchhá State Gazetteer,* p. 22.

[2] Appendix A.

He was an ambitious man and his restless spirit and his aggressions had the same excuse as those of any conqueror. Babur in his letter to Humayun rightly says—

> "Ambition admits not of inaction.
> The world is his who exerts himself."

Beyond the fact therefore, as we shall see further on, of Bir Singh Deo having been appointed ruler of Orchhá in supersession of the then Rájá, his elder brother Ram Sah, there is nothing in his early life to show that there was a "dark back-ground behind the bright picture of his mature piety." Even his worst enemies have not invented any such stories as would show that he practised unscrupulousness or cruelty to attain his object. He certainly did not like Asoka find an Upagupta to teach him the law of piety, yet the single act of his in attacking Abul Fazl which ended in the latter's death, has justified writers of Indian history to brand him as a bandit and a treacherous murderer and even the *Orchhá Gazetteer* says "has left an undying stigma on his reputation." In this paper an attempt will be made to show from contemporary Hindi records, the circumstances under which Abul Fazl lost his life and the fact that Bir Singh Deo's conduct in the affair was as justifiable as that of any feudal chief who was acting in the interest of his suzerain.

The most important book which throws much light on these facts is *Bir Singh Deo Charita* written in 1664 V. E. (1607) by Keshava Dás one of the greatest poets of the time and a contemporary of Súr Dás and Tulsí Dás. Keshava Dás is known in literary circles as the author of two standard works on *Ars poetica*, the *Kavipriyá* and the *Rasikapriyá* and the *Rám Chandriká* which describes the story of the *Ramayan* in a way peculiarly its own. Keshava Das's family originally belonged to Gopachal, modern Gwalior, and he was a Brahman of the Sanadh sect claiming descent from Sanaka, son of Brahma. When Raja Rudra Pratap founded the city of Orchhá and made it his capital, Krishna Datt Misra was appointed Pauranik (reciter of the Puranas). A detailed genealogy of the poet is given in Appendix B. Keshava Das was the grandson of Krishna Datta. The family seems to have been noted for Sanskrit scholarship and Keshava Das says that he alone has selected Bháshá for his compositions and emphasises the fact that none of his ancestors could speak it and always talked in Sanskrit. Keshava Dás was attached to the court of Raja Indrajit, brother of Bir Singh Deo, though he says in the *Kavipriyá* that he was patronised by Raja Ram Sah also. Of the three works noted above the *Kavipriyá* was written in 1658 V.E. (1601) at the request of Prabin Rai, an accomplished courtesan attached to the court of Raja Indrajit. The other two works have a significant ending at the end of each chapter which would signify that they were composed by Maharaj Kumar Indrajit himself.

As remarked by Mr. Keay in his *History of Hindi Literature*, 'the poetry of Keshava Dás is not an easy reading but there is no doubt of his being a poet of very great skill and his name is to be reckoned among the foremost.' This has led some scholars to opine that *Bir Singh Deo Charita* which is written in a very simple style is not his composition. It was written in *Samvat* 1664 in the reign of Bir Singh Deo and records events which happened before that date and there were no two Keshava Dáses in Orchhá Durbar. Besides the work is interspersed throughout with stanzas which no ordinary poet can produce and the chapters at the end describing the duties of a king establish beyond the shadow of a doubt that the writer was a profound scholar whose great learning in the *shástras* did credit to the family of *Pauraniks* to which he belonged.

I now proceed to give an analysis of this book. I have already said that it was composed in 1607, two years after the death of Akbar. After the usual invocation to Siva, followed by a verse which is significant as recording the exploits of three important personages of the time, Raja Mansinha Kachhwaha who is described as having torn the breast of the ocean, Amarsinha Sissodia[1] who was a terror of his enemies and the hero of the poem whose unbearable mental agony like fire consumed Jalaluddin and who founded the town of Jahangirpur on the Betwa, the author describes a large religious gathering on the banks of the Narbudda. Here *Lobh* (Avarice) saw the majesty of *Dán* (Charity—masculine in Hindi) and accused him of having ruined the world, though he was courted and worshipped. *Dán* replies that *Lobh's* votaries were thieves, swindlers, gamblers and opium-eaters. A noticeable point in this conversation is a reference to Todarmal and Birbal. Todarmal, as everybody knows, was the financial minister of Akbar and Birbal, his favourite courtier.

Says *Dán*,

टोडर मल तव मित्र मरे सबही सुख सोयो ।
मोरे हित बरबीर बिना टुक दीनन रोयो ॥

"When your friend Todarmal died, everyone rejoiced and slept in peace and when my friend Birbal died, all the poor people wept for a while."

The verse shows that Todar had made himself extremely unpopular by imposing fresh taxes to increase the State revenue. Birbal's liberality was famous and formed the subject not only of Keshava Dás's well-known lines quoted in my Calcutta University Selections, Book I, page 50, but was referred to by the Emperor himself in his expression of grief at Birbal's death.

---

[1] Son of the famous Rana Pratap.

दीन जानि सब दीन एक दुरायो दुसह दुख।
सो दुख हम कहँ दीन कछुहु न राख्यो बीरबर।

"He gave away all to the poor except unbearable grief and left nothing for himself. This grief was reserved for me and he has left it for me."

Todarmal died on the 7th November, 1589 and Birbal was killed in the Usufzai expedition on the 14th February, 1586. The debate is continued with all earnestness, Avarice maintaining that he protects the wealth of the country even in the same way as a good king protects his subjects. In the end, however, both seem to be reconciled by an appeal to the Vedantic doctrine of the identity of the giver and the receiver and Avarice describes the genealogy of the rulers of Orchha as follows :—

When Lord Rama after having relieved the earth of its burden of sin departed to Heaven making over his kingdom to his son Kusha, Ajodhya became desolate because like a faithful wife she followed her lord. Kusha established himself in Kushasthali[1] and became ruler of the earth as far as the limits of the ocean. A prince of the family of Kusha went over to Benares and was annointed king by the people. The name of this prince was Vir Bhadra[2] and his successors in the descending line were Vir Karan who established the Karntirtha (*sic* the present Kantit in Mirzapur) and Arjun Pal. Arjun Pal was displeased with his father and left Benares establishing himself in Mahoni.[1] He was succeeded by his son Sohan Pal who conquered Garhkundár.[2] His son was Naunak Deo and Naunak in turn was succeeded by Prithiraj. After this the *Bir Singh Charita* in its enumeration sets out the list which is recorded in the *Orchha Gazetteer*. Prithiraj is said to have had three[3] sons, Medini Mal, Rai Sen and Puran Mal. Medini Mal's son, Arjun Deo was a very virtuous sovereign and his son Malkhan Singh was a brave soldier. Malkhan's son, Pratap Rudra (or Rudra Pratap) left Garhkundar and founded the present town of Orchha, appointing Krishna Misra,[4] his family priest.

---

[1] This is evidently the Kushavati which, as I have shown in my paper on Ajodhya was situated in the Vindhyan precipices. The *Raguvansha* however says that at the request of his brothers Kusha went back to Ajodhya and restored it to its pristine glory making over Kushavati to Shrotriyas.

[2] In the *Orchha Gazetteer* the name of the prince who left Benares is Hem Karan and it was Lava and not Kusha who was the progenitor of the family of Gaharwars to which Bundelas belong. It is also written that Hem Karan was the favourite of his father who selected him as his heir while granting his brother *jagirs*. After the father's death, however, the brothers made common cause and expelled Hem Karan.

Pratap Rudra was succeeded by his son Bharti Chand[5] who is said to have baffled the attempts of Sher Shah and his son Islam, also called Salem, to conquer Bundelkhand. He had no son and his brother Madhukar Sah became king after him. Madhukar Sah's queen, the famous Maháráni Ganesh De, has already been mentioned. Madhukar Sah was a brave warrior and defeated Niamat Khan, Ali Kuli Khan, Jan Kuli Khan, Sah Kuli Khan, Said Khan, gave a sound thrashing to Abdulla Khan and discomfited Prince Murad. Madhukar Sah had eight sons, (1) Ram Sah, the eldest, (2) Horil who was killed in an engagement with Sadiq Muhammad Khan, (3) Narsingh, (4) Ratan Sen round whose head Akbar tied a turban with his own hand and who subsequently conquered Gaur for the Emperor though he lost his life in the campaign, (5) Indrajit of Kachhowa, (6) Rao Pratap, (7) Bir Singh Deo, who was the most famous of them all and (8) Harsingh Deo. Ram Singh (Ram Sah) succeeded his father Madhukar Sah as ruler of Orchha. He appeared before Akbar and was granted a seat of honour. The next chapter describes how the brothers quarrelled. The description has been put in the mouth of the goddess Vindhyabasini Devi in reply to a question by Avarice. Madhukar Sah had granted Baraun to Bir Singh Deo as his *jagir*. Here the ambitious Bir Singh gained strength enough to terrify the Shaikhs. He conquered, Pawawa, annexed Towar, struck terror in Narwar, killed the Minas and shattered the Jats, took possession of Barchha and Karara and levelled Hathnaura to the ground after having killed Baghur Raj. Hasan Khan, Governor of Bhander fled and the place was occupied. Erichh was wrested from a Muhammadan official whose name I am unable to make out. The Raja of Gopachal (Gwalior) trembled with fear. In this way Bir Singh annexed to his dominions several districts of the Moghul Empire. When Akbar heard of the aggressive conduct of Bir Singh, he ordered Raja Askaran to crush his restless spirit and Ram Sah was commanded to help him. When the imperial contingent reached Chandpur they were joined by Hassan Khan Pathan, Raja Ram Panwar, Jagamman, as also by Minas, Jats and Gujars. On the other side Bir Singh was assisted by his brother Indrajit and Rao Pratap, who commenced a sort of guerrilla warfare. All the attempts of the imperial generals to meet him face to face failed. Jagamman then suggested to Raja Askaran that Ram Sah was in collusion with the enemy.

---

[1] Now a small village in Konch tahsil of Jalaun district, still known as *Bari Gaddi*, the great seat.

[2] A village about 16 miles east of Jhánsi and 7 miles S. W. of tehsil Tahrauli. The old settlement lies in heavy jungle. O. G., page 79.

[3] The O. G. says "There were two sons only, Rai Chand and Medini Mal.

[4] Great-grand-father of Keshava Dás.

[5] According to *Vira Mitrodaya* Rudra Pratap's successors was Madhukar Sah.

जातः प्रतापरुद्रात् ससमुद्रां पालयन्नवनीम् ।
कृतैरिपुकाननदाहो मधुकरसाहोमहीपतिः शुशुभे ॥

and Bir Singh was appointed successor by Madhukar.

विन्यस्य वीरसिंहे नरपतिसिंहे महीभारम् ।
ज्ञानानलमलदाहो मधुकरसाहो दिवं भेजे ॥

ये चारो भैया हैं एक

"The four brothers are in collusion."

Askaran made no secret of the affair and plainly told Ram Sah that the enemy was his brother and that his profession of loyalty was a hoax. Raja Ram was touched to the quick and in the morning a storm was ordered. Maya Ram was killed and after a very short engagement the imperial forces were routed. In the meantime, Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim reached Agra from the Deccan and was commanded to proceed to Pawawa with Daulat Khan.[1] The Khan Khanan was as unsuccessful in his attempts to arrest Bir Singh Deo. He had then recourse to a stratagem and invited Bir Singh to come over to him promising to increase his *mansab*. Bir Singh appeared, was given a *khilaat* and ordered to accompany the Khan Khanan to the Deccan. On reaching Berar, Bir Singh suspected something wrong and requested the Khan Khanan to restore Baraun to him. Abdur Rahim replied that he could give him whatever he wanted from the Deccan. Bir Singh said that a *jagir* in the Deccan would be of no use to him, that in Baraun he would with his Rajputs more usefully serve the Emperor, and that unless Baraun was restored to him it was impossible for him to stay there. So saying he went to his camp and communicated his thoughts to Sangram. Sangram took a solemn oath to keep the matter a strict secret and it was decided to decamp at once, each separately. Bir Singh went away on a pretence of hunting and came in all haste to his country. When he reached the place the imperial outposts (*thanas*) all fled. Sangram played false and after a few days went over to the Khan Khanan and told him that Bir Singh on reaching home would either turn him out or kill him, and that Daulat Khan may be asked to accompany him to Bundelkhand. Daulat Khan went to Gwalior. Bir Singh then went over to Pawawa and with the help of his brothers Raos Bhopal, Indrajit and Pratap resolved to fight. Daulat Khan did not find it expedient to meet him and went back to the Deccan. The wily Sangram whose machinations were not known to the unsuspecting Bir Singh, thus baffled, came to Orchha and as he was a nephew was welcomed. This was the first attempt of the father and son to ruin Bir Singh Deo. Shortly afterwards Ram Sah placed his hand on the Saligram stone (a solemn oath among Hindus) and said, " I promise to protect you though I shall serve the Emperor." The brothers thereafter lived for sometime in peace. When Prince Murad died Akbar marched towards the Deccan. The first halt was made in Dholpur. Ram Sah on hearing of Akbar's arrival went to Baraun and met the Emperor in Gopachal. Here Ram Kachhwaha undertook to produce Bir Singh before the Emperor and a *firman* was issued at once. Bir Singh received timely warning and as the poet has it, like a lion on the approach of a troop of elephants, left his den. Ram Sah then represented to Akbar that if Baraun were given to him he would kill both Indrajit and Bir Singh, and relieve the Emperor of his anxiety in Bundelkhand so that he may be free to go to the Deccan. Akbar promised to make him a *panjhazari* if he succeeded. If, however, he allowed Bir Singh to escape or showed any indulgence to him, all the Bundelas would be exterminated. Raj Singh was ordered to accompany Ram Sah and to besiege Baraun. Here they found Bir Singh fully prepared for defence and they therefore had recourse to a stratagem. A message was sent to Bir Singh to leave Baraun for two days and they would raise the siege. Bir Singh refused to believe this. Raj Singh thereupon gave a solemn assurance to him that he had no personal grudge against him, that he had only promised to the Emperor to occupy Baraun and that after two days Bir Singh Deo would be free to come back. Bir Singh Deo thereupon agreed relying on Providence to punish Raj Singh if he played false. He left Baraun. It may be interesting to note how the assurance was given. The family priest Anandi, Kunwar Har Bans, Deva Payak, with an image of the Lord were requisitioned to witness the undertaking. Bir

---

[1] For an account of Daulat Khan see M. U. B. T., p. 464

Singh was also told that Ram Sah was his elder brother after all. As soon, however, the place was vacated, Ram Sah appeared in his true colours and told Raj Singh that Baraun had been given to him by the Emperor, and therefore when Bir Singh came back after a few days, and was sleeping with a few followers in his house, he was attacked unawares. Bir Singh and his brave retinue were however too strong for the ruffians and drove them back. This is enough to show that Bir Singh was only ambitious and did not deserve the title of unscrupulous given to him by the author of the *Orchha Gazetteer* and the person who most deserved the epithet, was his elder brother Ram Sah. Bir Singh made no aggressions on his brother's territories and always entertained the highest regard for him, as also for his son Sangram Sah. The step taken by Ram Sah was *khair-khwahi,* pure and simple and in the accomplishment of this *khair-khwahi* he cared not for *fraternitas,* oaths or affirmations.

In the meantime, to use Keshava Dás's metaphor, the gallantry of Mewar had changed the Emperor from a cobra to a coil of ropes and Akbar with his son and Man Singh, came back to Agra very much discomfited.

I now come to the most important part of the book in which the circumstances under which Abul Fazl was killed, are described in detail. Bir Singh held a council with his courtiers Mirza Govind Jadava Gaur, Mukut and others and expressed his difficult position when there was dissension in his own family and the Emperor was his enemy. On this Mukut remarked that the Emperor was himself in a fix on account of the insurrection of the Rana (Rana Pratap) and the conduct of the Crown Prince Salim. Mirza Govind Das then remarked that it will be best, therefore, to approach Salim as it was expedient to have a supporter. To this Bir Singh agreed and they all started at once towards Allahabad [1] where Prince Salim was Governor. On reaching Ahi Chhatra he met Syed Muzaffar Ali and explained his position to him. Muzaffar advised him to go to Prince Salim at once and assured him that the Prince would receive him as a trusted servant. A halt was made at Shahjatpur [1] and the next day the party reached Allahabad. Here Bir Singh Deo bathed in the holy Ganges and gave a beautifully caparisoned elephant to the *ghat*-keeper. On returning to his camp he found Sharif Khan waiting for him. Sharif Khan told him that Prince Salim was the guardian of his person (*tanatran*). He next went to see the Prince and received a most hearty reception and valuable presents. The visit was repeated for several days. On one occasion the Prince invited Bir Singh to a private interview and after making a solemn vow of friendship asked him to be in constant attendance on him. Bir Singh respectfully consented and the gist of the Prince's reply as given in the book is as follows:—

---

[1] Malleson called it a semi-independent province.

"You are my two eyes, you are the strength of my arm, you are my minister and you are my friend. I shall die for you."

Bir Singh said that he would be an infidel if he obeyed any other master. The Prince then opened his heart to him. This conversation is extremely important and I reproduce it in full.

Prince—

"जितनो कुल आलम परवीन ।
थावर जंगम दोई दीन ।
तामें एवै वैरी लेख ।
अव्वल फ़ज़ल कहावै सेख ॥
वह सालतु है मेरे चित्त ।
काढ़ि सकै तो काढ़ै मित्त ॥

---

[1] Now a railway station on the E. I. R.

जितने कुल उमरावनि जानि ।
ते सब करत हमारो कानि ॥
आगे पीछे मन आपनै ।
वह न मोहिं तिनका करि गनै ॥
हजरत को मन मोहित भर्यो ।
याके पारे अन्तर पर्यो ॥
सत्वर ताहि बुलायो राज ।
दक्खिन ते मेरे ही काज ॥
हजरत सों जो मिलि हैं आनि ।
तो तुम जानो मेरो हानि ॥
वेगि जाउ तुम राजकुमार ।
बीचहि वासों कीजै रारि ॥
पकरि लेहु कै डारो मारि ।
यह मता निहचै करो विचारि ॥
होइ काम यह तेरे हाथ ।
सब साहिबो तुम्हारे साथ ॥"

In the whole of this intelligent world,
Inanimate and animate of the two religions,
Among them I consider only one man as my enemy,
And he is called Shaikh Abul Fazl.
He is rankling in my heart like a thorn,
My friend, pull it out if you can.
All the *umraos* (courtiers) that I know of,
All of them honour me.
Before me and behind me in his heart
He cares not a straw for me.
He has poisoned the heart of His Majesty.
It is he who has sown dissension between us,
He has been summoned in haste by His Majesty
From the Deccan for my sake.
If he meets His Majesty

You may be sure I shall be seriously injured.
You therefore depart in haste
Intercept him and pick up a quarrel,
Make him a captive or kill him,
Keeping in your mind that it is for my benefit.
Let this deed be done by you
And all authority will wait on you.

Bir Singh did not readily agree to the proposal and fearlessly replied.

वह गुलाम तू साहेब ईस ।
तासो इतनो कीजहि रोस ॥
प्रभु सेवक की भूल विचारि ।
प्रभुता रहै जो लेइ संभारि ॥
सुनिय तुहै हजरत को चित्त ।
मंत्री लोग कहत हैं मित्त ॥
तो लगि सादि करै जो रोस ।
कहिए तो केहि दीजै दोस ॥
जनकी युवती कैसी रीति ।
सब तजि साहिब ही सों प्रीति ॥
ताते वाहि न कीजै रोष ।
छाँड़ि रोष कीजै संतोष ॥
सहसा कछु नहि कीजिये कीजै समय विचारि ।
सहसा करते घटि पैर अरु आवै जग गारि ॥

He is your servant, you are his master.
So much wrath against him is improper.
A master on seeing the fault of his servant
Tries to condone it and there lies his superiority.
It is heard that His Majesty's mind
Is reflected in the councils of his ministers,
If His Majesty is displeased
Who else can be blamed for it ?

A servant is like a faithful wife
She follows her husband and does not care for anybody
else
No fault there attaches to him.
You must therefore appease your anger,
And be content with your misfortune.
Nothing should be done without deliberate consideration ;
The act recoils upon oneself and the whole world blames
the doer.

Said Prince Salem,

वरन्यो मोत मतेको सारु ।
प्रभुजनको अब यहै विचारु ॥
जौ लगि यह जीवत है सेख ।
तो लगि मोहि मुओ हो लेख ॥
सबै बिचार दूरकरि चित्त ।
बिदा होहु तुम अबहीं मित्त ॥

My dear friend, your advice is most proper
A master must always act accordingly ;
But please remember that so long as the Shaikh is living
I am a dead man.
All considerations must be eschewed from the mind,
And you go, my friend, at once.

The prince thereupon dressed him in armour, tied his own sword round his waist, gave him a *saropa* and a horse and sent him off with Syed Muzaffar Ali. No halt was made in the way till the party reached Baraun. Spies were sent and they brought the news that the Sheikh had reached Narwar. Bir Singh Deo at once crossed the river Sindh and lay in wait for the Shaikh. The Shaikh, in the meantime, reached Paraichha and having halted there for the night started early in the morning. Bir Singh advanced and Shaikh on hearing his name was mad with fury and ran towards him whereupon a Pathan held the reins of his horse and said, "This is not the occasion for fighting, don't go in the face of the enemy. Let us run away as fast as we can; the king will be pleased to see you. Remember, that Prince Salem is your enemy."

Sheikh—

How can I run away.
A warrior must die where he is molested.[1]
Bir has taken away my horsetail banner.
It will be a shame to run away.

Said the Pathan, "It is also the duty of warriors to kill their enemy before dying. You have lost the banner, if you will escape unhurt, many such banners will be made for you." Said the Shaikh, a little irritated,—

मै बल लीनौं दक्खिण देस ।
जीत्यों मैं दक्खिनी नरेस ॥
साहि मुराद स्वर्ग जब गये ।
मैं भुव भार आपुसिर लये ॥
मेरो साहि भरोसो करै ।
भाजि जाउं मैं कैसे घरै ॥
कहु यों आलम तोग गँवाय ।
कहिहौं कहा साहि सों जाय ॥
देखत लियों नगारो आय ॥
कहा बजाऊं हौं घर जाइ ॥
घरको मेरे पाइन परै ।
मेरे आगे हिन्दू लरै ॥

I have conquered the Deccan,
Defeated the king of the country.
When Prince Murad went to Heaven,
I took the responsibility of the administration on my shoulders.

---

[1] *Cf.* Chand Bardai.—गजकसिंह साधु कष जंहाँकन्है तहँजुज्झै । A man should be like a lion or an elephants. He fights whenever he is molested.

The Emperor has full confidence in me
How can I run away home,
If I follow your advice after losing the banner
What explanation shall I give to the Emperor ?
If my kettle drums are taken away from me,
What shall I beat when I shall reach home ?
In my house people fall at my feet,
How will the Hindu fight against me ?

Pathan—

सेख विचारि चित्त महँ देखु ।
काजु अकाजु साहि कौ लेखु ॥
सुनु नवाब तू जूझहि तहां ।
अकबर साहि विलोकै जहां ॥
प्रभुपै जाइ जमातिहि जोर ।
सोकसमुद्र सलेमहि बोर ॥

Don't be rash, consider
The business of the Sovereign.
If you wish to die at all
Die where the Emperor Akbar sees you
Go straight to your lord and master
And drown Prince Salim in the ocean of sorrow.

Sheikh—

तू जु कहत चलि जैये भाजि ।
उठे चहुँ दिसि वैरी गाजि ॥
भाजे जातु मरनु जो होइ ।
मोको कहा कहै सब कोइ ॥
जो भजिये लरिये गुन देखि ।
दुहू भाँति मरिबोई लेखि ॥
भाजौं तो जो भाजो जाइ ।
क्यों करि दैहै मोहि भजाइ ॥

पति कौ वैरी पाय निहारु ।
सिर पर साहि मया को भारु ॥
लाज रही अँग अँग लपटाइ ।
कहु कैसे कै भाजो जाइ ॥

You say, run away,
The enemy is thundering on all sides.
If I am killed running away,
What will the people say of me?
Both in running and in fighting death is certain.
I shall run away if I can,
But I have the fetters of honour in my feet
And the burden of the Emperor's love on my head.

The Sheikh thereupon drew his sword[1] and rushed towards the enemy. In whatever direction he ran, the assailants fled in consternation. The description of the Sheikh's bravery on this occasion as given by the Hindi poet is exceedingly spirited. The contest was fierce; arrows and bullets were showered and the Sheikh was hit in the chest by a ball. After the contest Bir Singh Deo went up to him and saw his body smeared over with perfume and rolling in blood. His joy was tainted with grief and he cut off the Shaikh's head and went to Baraun.

(*To be continued.*)

SITA RAM.

---

[1] he Shaikh did not approve of incurring the disgrace of flight and manfully paid he coin of life (M. U. B. T. p. 123).

INDIAN RAILWAYS

Railway Expenditure—Economic Working,—Cheap Railway Rates and Protective Tariff—Reorganisation of Railways—Revision of Railway Act—Company *versus* State Management of Railways.

Railway Expenditure.—When the loan of 150 crores for expenditure for five years was sanctioned by the Assembly it was said that the amount thus borrowed would be mainly utilised on rehabilitation of railways, and the loan was allowed to be added to the Capital account of railways, or in other words, this expenditure was to be on Capital account on the existing lines. Now, it is to be observed that when a large Capital expenditure is incurred on Indian Railways it is necessary that for the purpose of execution of such works on Capital account certain amount of expenditure on Revenue account must a be incurred. In regard to allocation of expenditure betwe Capital and Revenue accounts, in respect of railways alrea existing, the procedure at present observed is that the Capi account is debited with the cost of new works, of additio rolling stock, plant, machinery and substantial improveme and of additions to old works, rolling replacements, etc., are debited to R again, for instance, when say new rails the cost of providing the new rails account, whereas the cost of laying th is met out of the Revenues of a Rail all additional rolling stock or new ma of Capital, all repairs and less importan engines, carriages or wagons is cha rolling stock and plant, after having once been provided, out of Capital account, is kept up by expenditure out of Revenue to its full complement. In this latter respect as the age of a railway increases and plant and machinery becomes old, expenditure on account of upkeep and maintenance becomes heavy and locomotive engine parts, boilers, etc., become necessary to be replaced.

The neglect to repairs and proper maintenance during and sometime after the War has rendered it necessary to incur heavier expenditure in this respect out of Revenue account. In order, therefore, to ensure steady expenditure in these respects and for improvements and additions to meet the increasing traffic it is demanded, on behalf of those responsible for the working of Indian railways, that there should be more freedom allowed to them and to the railway administrations to spend money and to raise temporary loans and separation of the Railway Budget from the general Budget is asked for.

There is, however, the other side of the case too. The first and foremost point is that the Indian railways (in respect of which rearrangement of the Budget and greater expenditure both on Capital and on Revenue account are asked for) are the property of the Indian taxpayers and, in the words of the Acworth Railway Committee, the railways of India have been provided out of funds raised by loans and taxation, for which the Indian people have been responsible. It may be useful to mention that no small portion of the large sums raised by the Government of India on the old 3 and 3½ per cent. Government paper, in the days before the war, were spent on Railways. The various sources from which the money was provided for railway purposes in those days were as follows:—

(*a*) Out of surplus of General Revenues of the Government of India and cash balances.

(*b*) By raising of Capital by the Government in rupee in India, or by starting loans in England.

[illegible] issue of debentures in England on the guarantee of State for India.

(*d*) Out of savings bank deposits.

(*e*) Appropriation of Famine grants, for avoidance of debt.

(*f*) Part profits of Rupee coinage.

So that various surpluses of revenue and loans were utilized for railway purposes.

Railway management in India is said to be based on a commercial basis and the idea is commercial management of State Railways. The Commerce Member and the Railway Department of the Government of India may be taken as managers of a great commercial undertaking ; if so, their first duty is to see that the investors in these railways get an adequate return. Then, if the railways are recognised to be commercial undertakings they must first create a fund for repayment of the loans (particularly the debts incurred in England), because any sound commercial business concern must not have heavy loans standing in its books. The Indian people have entrusted their railway property to expert managers who are in this case, the officials of the Railway Board and the Commerce Member of the Government of India. In the same way, as the shareholders of a concern want a fair return or dividend on their investments after providing for depreciation, reserve and sinking funds, over and above the expenses of running the concern, the Indian taxpayers, who are the investors in this case, may reasonably expect a fair return in the way of contribution to the General Revenues of India for expenditure on nation-building works and for improvements in agriculture, sanitation, education, etc. It may be fair to expect that (1) the railway revenue must first pay, to the General Revenues of the country at least 2 % (two per cent.) interest on capital outlay. (2) Secondly, the railways should create out of the revenues, substantial depreciation and sinking funds respectively to keep the railway property
order and maintenance and to repay the
for repayment should be fixed for each

the railway revenue should bear all interest charges on annuities, or, as an alternative, annuities may be repaid by loans and interest on the loans debited to railway revenues and the loans gradually met out of sinking funds. (4) Fourthly, the railways should extend the scope of their Railway workshops and create centralised works to manufacture and build locomotive engines, wagons and most of the railway materials in the country. Any sum spent on this account will be a real national asset to the country financially, economically and industrially. A first loan of fifty crores on this account will be money spent in the most right direction, and this may be supplemented by small contributions each year, both out of Capital and Revenue Accounts. This will be greatly facilitated by State Management.

In addition, cheap travelling in the way of reduced fares and cheap rates for foodstuffs, and for raw materials, etc., for the Indian mills and factories and for their products must be guaranteed by the railways. These are the main objects with which the railways were made and exist and the country should demand all this emphatically.

The railways of India were purchased by the Government from the original guaranteed companies in three different methods :—

(*a*) Direct purchase by cash.
(*b*) Purchase by payment in form of India stock, especially issued for the purpose.
(*c*) Purchase by means of terminable annuities.

The capital expenditure of Indian Railways, in respect of which the Government of India—eventually the Indian taxpayers—is responsible, is nearly 600 crores already. At the end of March 1923, this expenditure was 593 crores, out of the total capital outlay ofthe Railways of India of 669 crores. The balance of 76 crores belonged to the companies (Indian and British) and to the Indian Princes who also own railway lines in India.

As remarked at the outset, the Legislative Assembly has sanctioned for purposes of railway improvements an expenditure of 150 crores for five years, commencing from the official year 1922-23, and the Railway Finance Committee of 1921 has practically accepted the principle that, during the ten years beginning from 1922-23, expenditure on rehabilitation and completion of lines under construction might be incurred to the extent of 300 crores, that is at the rate of 30 crores a year. Thus, the Government liability for the total capital outlay on the Railways at the end of 10 years would be over 893 crores. But it is to be particularly mentioned here that, in this enormous sum, is not included the expenditure on new lines.

It is to be remembered that in the matter of railway expenditure the question of supply of railway materials plays an important part. Firm, stable and gradual reduction of the prices of railway materials can only be effected by their extensive manufacture in this country, when the cost would not be affected by conditions out of India. Therefore, out of the 300 crores, proposed to be spent on railway facilities and rehabilitations, for the next 10 years, at least a sixth part, say 50 crores, should be spent in extending the scope of the Indian railway workshops and to create a concentrated Railway iron and steel works and engine-building concern for the permanent good and everlasting benefit of the people of the country and their railways. The large sums of money that go out of the country every year to pay the foreign manufactures and foreign labourers and capitalists will then be spent in India and thus add to the wealth of the country instead of there being a drain from India to pay foreign labourers and manufacturers, as is the case now.

Next to come to Railway extensions—it was urged by the Mackay Committee that India should have one lakh of miles of railway lines, but the Railway Board holds that 45,000 miles would meet the requirements for some time to come.

We have railways to the extent of about 38,000 miles at present. India would therefore require, roughly speaking, 7,000 more miles of railways, and taking the cost at the rate of 2½ (two and half) lakhs of rupees per mile the provision of this additional railway mileage in India would mean an expenditure of about 175 crores. Thus, taking the already existing financial liability on capital account, the proposed expenditure of 300 crores on the open lines of railways for increasing facilities and for rehabilitation, and the sum of 175 crores for new railways, the Government liability on railway account would stand at something like 1,068 crores of rupees, plus the sum of about 35 crores of the present companies' share of the capital outlay in the G. I. P. and the E. I. Railways (for which the responsibility from 1925 will be that of the Government) thus bringing the total to about 1,100 crores of rupees.

To earn an interest of 5 per cent. on this amount, there must be a net earning of 55 crores, and taking the railway working expenses in future on an average of 66 per cent. of the gross earnings, at the lowest, the gross revenue, must, therefore, be something near 160 crores. Payments on account of redemption of capital liability (or debts) should be larger and made out of the railway revenue and as these payments are absolutely necessary, it should be at the rate of at least 15 crores a year, and a depreciation fund of at least 3 crores should also be created. The gross revenue should be close upon 197 crores per annum. Out of this amount the working expenses at 66 per cent. would be 130 crores, and out of the balance of 67 crores interest at 2 per cent. on the capital outlay of 1,100 crores or 22 crores should be paid to the General Revenues of the country, and out of the remaining 45 crores, 15 crores should go towards redemption of capital, and about 25 crores would be required on account of interest on annuities, and loans and 3 crores in creating a Depreciation Fund and 2 crores on improvement; when our railway can do all this then and then above the Indian railways could be called real financial assets to the Indian Government. To my mind, the question of repayment of foreign debts incurred particularly on railway account is more important than building new railways out of foreign capital. This is why I advocated so strongly, in my evidence before the Acworth Railway Committee, the creation of a fund to buy up the guaranteed companies, and I hold very strong views on the point still. To my mind new railways should wait until at least a large portion of the foreign debt is paid up. Unless we pay up our foreign debts, our railways would never be free from the influence of foreign financiers.

State Management Imperative.

"No country in the world has ever adopted the state ownership of railways from merely theoretical considerations," and India is no exception to it. State ownership, State management and the removal of foreign control are most essential. It may be said, the control is that of the Government of India, but the policy is that of the Secretary of State. Control from England would prevail if we go on borrowing largely in England of materials.

The railways of Switzerland and Belgium were nationalised in order to get rid of the control of the foreign capitalists ("Industry and Trade" by Alfred Marshall). Our railway finance and railway policy, to my mind, at least, would remain defective so long we, year after year, go on borrowing without taking steps to repay our debts, and if we do not manufacture our own railway materials. In this situation, we can never expect our industries, especially the iron and steel industry, to expand on a large scale unless we have State Management of our railways.

Railway rates and fares must be cheap and economic working should be introduced to make the railways of a country paying concerns and protective necessary tariff to increase Railway business.

Cheap fares and rates.—At the 1922 December meeting of the Institute of Transport in England, Sir George Paish read a paper on The Future of British Railways. He emphasised that the real remedy to make railways of a country paying concerns lay not in increased charges to the public but in greater efficiency of management and real economy in operation. Sir Henry Thornton, the then General Manager of the Great Eastern Railway of England, and formerly of American Railways and now Chairman of the Canadian Government Railways, remarked that the improvements and economies effected in American Railways were practically forced on them by circumstances. He went on to say that about 1890, there was an enormous impetus to business, which resulted in American railways finding themselves short of locomotives and that they were forced to build very much larger wagons and locomotives of very much greater tractive power to cope with these great blocks
affic and to economise in railway working. It will be
o know what gave impetus to American business
ongestion of traffic alluded to by Sir Henry
f the reasons besides the Protective Tariff
f rates between the American Railways
caused lowering of charges made to the
that previous to this lowering of rates
mption of many commodities was con-
ss of people and to that class again in a
e lowering of the rates had the effect of
hose commodities within the reach of a
ers but also enabled the previous consu-
ir consumption. This was one effect of
but there was also the other side of

the case, namely, the Railway side. The Railway
deficits of nett earnings, consequently lesse
Therefore, there were two alternatives, *viz.*, either
the rates and fares or to devise methods to re
of operation of the railways. The American railw
the latter and started economies in railway v
attain the same in India it is necessary to impro
ties on railways to carry bigger traffic per train
the despatch of traffic and to effect quick turr
wagons.

These can be done by improving the cap
lines, for which locomotive engines of larger tr
wagons of bigger capacity, stronger bridges,
extended yards, etc., are necessary, but if cheap
and rates are introduced and sinking and
funds and a minimum contribution of two
capital outlay of railways to the General Fi
country, are assured there can be no objection
of money on account of railway improvement
attain economic working.

Of course, a bold policy will have to be adopt
necessary to spend largely at first to enable the
carry more traffic at cheap rates and to ea
money.

The Railway Department should be aske
of what sums they would require for a *cert*
instalments and when and also to show
expect thereby and how and by what tin
money should be found, that is, on the Ra
Assembly that the money would be spent
and that the return on the money to be spen
satisfactory. During the process of reh
it should be accepted that the dividend w
small because more traffic cannot be carr
are there but as the process of reha

earnings ought to be getting better. *In the meanwhile, it is imperative that the rates and fares must not go up. They are already high* as will be shewn presently. And the moment rehabilitation is well advanced a minimum dividend of two per cent., an adequate depreciation fund to keep the railways up to date and well-maintained and a substantial sinking fund to repay loans should be demanded out of the Railway Revenue, and the lowering of rates and fares insisted upon. There is, however, one thing that has to be watched in the matter of elasticity of railway rates, *viz.*, that there is no wastage in transportation of traffic. There have been such cases in the past say in 1916-17 there were cross movements of traffic in every commodity. Let us take the case of wheat and of wheat flour, for instance on the N. W. Railway and O. & R. Railway. Ludhiana received wheat flour to the extent of 32,527 maunds and despatched 23,080 mds. of wheat flour again. Despatches of wheat from Meerut and *viá* to Hapur amounted to 108,169 mds. and from Hapur to Meerut and *viá* to 105,322 mds.

Of course, if in spite of ordinary rates, such cross movements take place this cannot be helped, but it should not be helped by the railways as in the long run wastage of transportation is a great economic loss to the country.

It is correct to a certain extent that economic working does not necessarily mean cutting down of necessary expenses or grants, and that real economy means cheap transportation, but the experience of railway working in India of late has been a rise in the working expenses and also in rates and fares. The position can be remedied by the measures suggested above.

The following table gives the figures of rates and fares charged :—

TABLE I.

	Average rate charged for carrying goods one ton one mile.			Average rate charged for carrying 3rd class passenger one mile.		
		1st half	2nd half		1st half	2nd half
		pies.	pies.		pies.	pies.
B. N. Railway	1914-15 ...	3·69	3·44	1914-15 ...	2·44	2·44
	1920-21 ...	3·57	3·57	1920-21 ...	3·27	3 27
	1922-23 ...	6·75	6.75	1922-23 ...	3·56	3·56
		1st half	2nd half		1st half	2nd half
		pies.	pies.		pies	pies.
B. B. & C. I. Ry.	1914-15 ...	6·21	5·76	1914-15 ...	2·06	2 09
	1920-21 ...	5·90	5·90	1920-21 ...	2·78	2·78
	1922-23 ...	7·65	7·65	1922-23 ...	3·45	3·45
		1st half	2nd half		1st half	2nd half
		pies.	pies.		pies.	pies.
E. I. Railway	1914-15 ...	3·50	2·87	1914-15 ...	2·23	2·22
	1920-21 ...	3·12	3·12	1920-21 ...	2·98	2·98
	1922-23 ...	3·99	3·99	1922-23 ...	4·04	4·04
		1st half	2nd hslf		1st half	2nd half
		pies	pies.		pies.	pies.
G. I. P. Railway	1914-15 ...	4·89	4·90	1914-15 ...	2·31	2·35
	1920-21 ...	5·20	5·20	1920-21 ...	2 90	2·90
	1922-23 ...	6·72	6·72	1922-23 ...	3·44	3·44

The rise in passenger fares has been the biggest on the East Indian Railway.

The foregoing figures speak for themselves. There has been a very big rise since 1922-23 both in the freight paid for the carriage of goods and in the fares charged by the railways for the carriage of passengers. It is claimed that the Indian Railway fares are the cheapest, say, compared with the fares charged by the American Railways for the lowest class of passengers. But is it really so in effect? Apart from the fact that the American Railways provide service and comforts to lowest class passengers instead of mere transportation (and at present overcrowding, in addition), offered by the Indian Railways to the Third class passengers, it was pointed out some years ago *that in effect the American Railway fares were cheaper than the Indian Railway fares charged to lowest class passengers.* The following remarks appear in late Mr. Neville Priestley's report of 1903 (Mr. Priestley was Under-Secretary to the Government of India at the time):—

> "The rate of wages in America for unskilled labourers averages Rs. 3-14-6 per day. By the expenditure of one day's wages such a man can travel over 63 miles. The rate of wages in most parts of India for the same class of labourer is annas two. By the expenditure of one day's wages such a man in India could travel 10 miles."

If wages have increased in India, they have risen higher still in America, but the cost of living has also risen. The nett power of the ryots to spend money on travelling has decreased in India. Mr. Priestley's following remarks made in 1903 apply with greater force to-day:—

> "While wages are as low as they are in India it would be hopeless to expect the same amount of travel in India as takes place in America. An increase in rate of wages can only come with the development of natural resources of a country."

Protective tariff.—For the development of natural resources of the country, America has built up protective walls for its local industries by a system of protective tariffs. Remarking on the rise of wages in America and the better style of living of the people of the country Mr. Priestley also said as follows:—

> "........at the back of all this there is no doubt the protective tariff but that would have availed little without cheapening the cost of transportation."

First and foremost, India must develop its industries, through its natural resources for home demands. It was remarked in one of the recent publications on "Industry and Trade" as follows:—

"The American has a constantly expanding home demand, urging him to extensions and justifying costly improvements and the adoption of new processes......He has a continent under one Government......The best places are selected for its raw materials, or partially prepared, for their final forms."

All this has been possible in America through protective tariffs, and with the help of railways, whose staff of Traffic Officers are constantly on the look out for finding new business at convenient places and to inform the public of possibilities of developments.

A British journal, not very long ago, remarked as follows:—

"Resolved to preserve the standard of comfort and decent life enjoyed by the people, and to protect their home industries, the statesmen of the U. S. A. built the tariff wall on scientific principles, imposing duties on foreign goods that amounted in many cases, almost to prohibition. They had no theory, but simply kept steadily in view of their aim to guard American industries against the dangerous competition of the 'pauper labour' of Europe. That the policy achieved tremendous success from the first is a matter of history. Behind the tariff wall, American industry flourished luxuriantly; capital increased; factories extended and multiplied, wages of the working population rose, and the productive powers of the individual workmen, aided by lavish employment of mechanical appliances, exceeded those of the hardest driven European labourer. To discuss the effects of the various factors at work and assess the total value of the protectionist policy is needless for one fact remains to be noted which overweighs all possible theories. Two years ago, with wages falling and unemployment rife the U. S. A. Government devised the Food tariff, which, it is said, completes the isolation of the U. S. A. from the rest of the world. Secured from the competition of a desperate and deeply impoverished European industrial population, the trade of U. S. A. has recovered rapidly from depression and seems about to enter upon an era of high prosperity."

Fares to be cheaper than before war for long distances.— Remarking on the question of development of passenger traffic the late Mr. Priestley, the Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Railway Department, said as follows in his Report of 1903 :—

"If traffic is to be developed this can only be done by bringing the fares within the reach of the multitude."

The same writer, Mr. Priestley, remarked that the cost of construction was cheap in India and that the working expenses were also cheaper, particularly on account of very cheap wages paid to Indian staff employed mostly in the lower grades and he urged that the rates and fares should be still cheaper in India than they were in 1903, but they are much higher to-day. Even taking for argument's sake that the increase in average wages in the U. S. A. has been only 50 per cent. during these 20 years (or the rise has been from Rs. 3-14-6 to Rs. 5-13-9 or say Rs. 6-0-0 per diem) and in India four times say from two annas to eight annas a day (for unskilled labour in both cases) the fares being say 18 pies (average) in America, and say three pies in India it is seen that by spending one day's wages an American labourer can travel 64 miles whereas an Indian labourer can travel 32 miles. So that in effect the American fares are still much cheaper than the Indian fares.

In regard to the cost of railway construction and working the following remarks were made twenty years ago (and they apply equally to-day) in comparing the two countries of America and India in the matter of railway rates. It was said that considering the conditions of the two countries the railway rates ought to be still cheaper in India and the grounds therefore were mentioned as under :—

" Railways cost more to construct in America than in India and consequently require more net earnings to pay the same rate of dividend, working expenses are also higher in America than in India because labour is very much cheaper " owing to the lower grade staff being Indian and thus low-paid.

And yet we see that in spite of dearer cost of building railways, much higher working expenses and higher percentage of working expenses to gross earnings in U. S. A. than in India the average rate charged on goods traffic per ton mile is very much the same as in India, *viz.*, 6·7 pies per ton mile in U. S. A. and 6·1 pies per ton mile in India (*vide* page 27, para. 46 of Railway Boards Administration Report, for 1922-23).

Thus the Indian Railway rates and fares are also really not the cheapest.

That the Indian Railway fares do not attract long distance third class passenger traffic is evident from the fact that the average distance travelled by third class passengers in India was 53 miles at the highest on one line and less on others.

The figures of average distance per third class passenger for 1922-23 were as follows :—

TABLE II.

B. N. Railway	...	52·73 miles
B. B. & C. I. Railway	...	27·83 „
E. I. Railway	...	50·53 „
G. I. P. Railway	...	43·74 „

And the average distance travelled by third class passengers, taking all the Indian Government-owned railways (including State-managed State and Company-managed State railways) together, was as under in the following years :—

TABLE III.

Average miles per passenger.

1890	...	...	41·06 miles
1909	...	...	38·74 „
1916-17	...	...	36·56 „
1921-22	...	...	37·25 „
1922-23	...	...	35·67 „

These figures show that the average travelling power of an Indian ryot does not take him more than 37 miles. That very cheap third class fares for long distance travelling have been needed for years is evident from these figures. Thus reduction of fares for long-distance traffic can take place immediately without affecting the Railway receipts.

Railway rates and Railway expenditure.

Next to deal with the causes of increase in railway rates and fares. The increase in railway rates and fares, and particularly the heavy increase in 1922-23, it is said, became necessary owing to rise in the working expenses :—

TABLE IV.

Proportion of working expenses to gross earnings.

	1914-15 Per cent.		1922-23. Per cent.
B. N. Railway	50·43	...	62·68
B. B. & C. I. Railway	51·58	...	73·83
E. I. Railway	39·42	...	62·70
G. I. P. Railway	62·67	...	74·90

The rise in the working expenses in India has been due to various reasons, *e.g.*, (1) rise in cost of railway materials and stores, (2) rise in wages, (3) rise in cost of coal, (4) making up of arrears of repairs on Revenue account, which were neglected during the War.

The increased cost of Railway working in U. S. A. means that the entire money is spent in that country but in India the increased cost means payment of large amounts to foreign countries in cost of materials, stores, even fuel, and to a certain extent, in wages to non-Indians. Until a large amount of railway requirements are made in this country there will never be real economy attained on Indian Railways or economic drain from India stopped. The railways should build their own engines in India (they do so to a small extent only in the metre gauge railways workshops at Ajmere) as well as wagons, carriages and all rails should be Indian made. The railways, *that are the property of the State*, should, with the help of the Government of India, concentrate on securing this end which can only be done under State management of our railways.—

Economic working.—Then one cannot overlook the fact that there are many ways in which economy in working can be effected by means, within the powers of the railways, *viz.*, by saving in train and engine mileage, by loading trains to full capacity, and by moving them quickly, but the results of the railway working, published by the Government of India, shew that the number of miles run per wagon per day is growing less meaning that the movements of trains is becoming slow and wagon movements are getting slower still. This to an extent may be due to want of full facilities and partly owing to wagons becoming out of use temporarily for delays in repairs.

TABLE V.

Average number of miles run per wagon per day.

	1916-17.	1920-21.		1922-23.
B. N. Railway ...	40	34	...	31
E. I. Railway ...	59	46	...	35
G. I. P. Railway ...	47	34	...	30

Slow movement of wagons indicate slow movement of trains and detention to wagons in yards, terminals, etc. The former means more expenditure on coal and the latter tends to reduce the capacity of the railway to carry traffic per wagon per day. So, thus the railway Revenue is reduced and the expenses are increased—a very serious matter indeed.

It may be that the movement of wagons and trains are to a certain extent retarded for want of facilities in the way of extended yards, sidings, double lines, etc., but in this connection a few remarks are necessary to shew that seemingly want of foresight on the part of the railway companies and the Government led to expenses being incurred in the past that were not in proper directions.

In the past, very large sums of money were spent in providing extra rolling stock; as complaints of shortage of wagons came in, more vehicles were added. During the period from 1905 to 1914-15 rolling stock to the value of nearly 40 crores of rupees were added to broad gauge railways. Warnings were given in 1903 by late Sir T. Robertson, the First Special Commissioner for Indian Railways, that best was not being done with the then existing rolling stock, and the Railway Board themselves in their report for 1907 admitted "that before more wagons were placed on the railways further expenditure on facilities were indispensable." The results, however, shewed that the wagons were placed on the railways before the facilities to move them were adequately supplied. Taking the broad gauge systems of the B. N. Ry.,

B. B. & C. I. Ry., E. I. Ry., E. B. Ry., G. I. P. Ry., N. W. Ry., and the O. & R. Ry., it was seen, comparing the calendar year 1907 with the official year 1914-15, that while there were increases of 62 per cent. in the number of wagon and 39 per cent. in the number of engines the average number of miles run per goods vehicle per diem was 21 per cent. less and per engine per diem 10 per cent. less. Naturally, if more wagons are placed on railways without first providing the facilities to move the wagons the movement of wagons must be slow. So that a large percentage of wagons added would not be useful. The railway policy in India in the matter of facilities to move more traffic was in the past directed towards providing more wagons instead of providing full facilities first. We have also seen that, say on the East Indian Railway, the loads of the wagons are not high although this railway has the largest coal traffic and a heavy grain traffic. This is because the E. I. Railway had not got very high capacity wagons. Whereas the B. N. Railway accounted for 15·64 tons load per wagon and the N. W. Railway 14·75 tons, the E. I. Railway wagon load was 14 tons only (1920-21) due to the absence of high capacity wagons of E. I. Railway. Even if such high capacity wagons had been on the E. I. Railway they would not have been able to load them up to their full carrying capacity (they cannot even now take on all sections of the line, full advantage of the existing carrying capacity of their wagons) because of the E. I. Railway bridges not being strong enough to bear heavy loads. If, instead of spending money on additional vehicles, and on yards and on more tracks, the E. I. Railway had first strengthened those bridges over which loads are even non-limited, it would have gone a long way in reducing wagon mileage and consequently train mileage, by increasing train loads and wagon loads and the E. I. Railway would have been enabled to carry more traffic at a still lesser cost. During the year 1922-23, the average number of loaded wagons per train on the

B. N. Railway was 20·41 against 24·12 wagons on the E. I. Railway and the average freight load per train on the B. N. Railway was 302 tons against 323 tons of the E. I. Railway. The average load per wagon was thus about 13·4 tons on the E. I. Railway against 14·8 tons on the B. N. Railway. Comparing even 1922-23 with 1920-21 it is seen that average freight load per train dropped on E. I. Railway from 330 tons in 1920-21 to 323 tons in 1922-23, a drop of ten tons per each train means very considerable decrease in the train load for one year, meaning more expenses for carrying same amount of traffic.

"Train and traffic control" has been introduced on Indian Railways in order to secure faster movement of trains and wagons. The G. I. P. Railway have introduced this on an elaborate scale, and the E. I. Railway and other railways on a comparatively lesser scale. But unfortunately the G. I. P. Railway and the E. I. Railway results in the matter of movement of wagons do not yet shew improvements. While the E. I. Railway accounted for 59 miles per wagon per day in 1916-17 the mileage per wagon per day came down to 46 miles in 1920-21 and in 1922-23 it was still worse, namely, 35 miles. Similarly, on the G. I. P. Railway while their wagons on an average recorded 47 miles per wagon per day in 1916-17 the similar result for 1920-21 was but 34 miles and in 1922-23 still worse, *viz.*, 30 miles. Distances in India are great, traffic conditions vary in different seasons; flow of traffic is not even in both directions; double and single lines follow one another; sometimes, a single line is sandwiched between double lines on either side; different kinds of traffic, from various provinces and districts and from different directions, converge on the same point; a great deal of traffic is through traffic, passing over two or more lines. All this means and require, that if there is control it should be a wider control, taking contiguous railways together. In England, the conditions are different. Distances are not great and concentrated traffic is dealt within small areas and owing to nearness of distances the Controllers can meet and exchange news and views on telephones. Thus the control of trains and traffic is more effective and easy in England than in India.

Similarly, in the matter of pooling of wagons, one of the objects for which pooling of wagons was introduced was to minimise the work of shunting wagons that has to be done in the coal districts of the E. I. Railway and B. N. Railway; a large number of shunting engines in steam is a very expensive business. *The shunting mileage instead of decreasing with pooling of wagons has increased.*

TABLE VI.

Percentage of shunting mileage to train mileage.

	1919-20.	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.
	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.
B. N. Railway ...	28·88	31·61	32	33
E. I. Railway ...	25·45	25·05	33	34

One of the greatest of difficulties under pooling of wagons is that owing to wagons of Indian Railways not being of the same standard type when such wagons require repairs, while on foreign railways, *i.e.*, distant from the home line, there are delays in repairing wagons, which tell on the work done by wagons, and this factor is one of the defects of the pooling of wagons in India. And also the capacity of the carriage and wagon shops of Indian Railways is limited and there being a large number of wagons that require repairs this is another reason, amongst others, which reduces the average work done by wagons.

Re-organization of Railways.

It is understood that railways are going to introduce Divisional System of working. The present system of working on Indian railways is Departmental System, under which there are Heads of departments under the General Manager (or Agent of a Railway) and each head of department has his organisation on the line under district Officers of each department on the various districts. There are the Engineering, the Locomotive, the Carriage and Wagon, the Traffic Departments. Under the proposed Divisional system the Loco. and Carriage and Wagon Departments will retain their workshops under the respective Loco. and Carriage and Wagon Superintendents, and the Chief Engineer will probably be responsible for designs and estimates of roads, bridges and buildings and for their general planning out but these officers will probably be a sort of staff officers to the Agent or General Manager. And all operative work will go under one chief who will be responsible for all such work to the Agent, and the work on the line will be placed under operative Divisional Superintendents, who will practically be the Head of the Operative Department for the Division in all the branches. These officers should be responsible for upkeep and maintenance of roads and buildings, bridges, carriages, wagons, locomotives (except heavy repairs to and overhauling of carriages, wagons, locomotives and machinery which will, however, continue to be done in the Loco. and carriage and wagon shops of the railways) running of trains, movement of vehicles, acceptance, loading, transport and delivery of traffic and control of all staff employed on the division including road men, engine men, carriage and wagon staff, train staff, station staff, etc., etc. It is to be hoped at any rate that greater efficiency and economy in working will be attained by avoidance of departmental frictions and owing to all men of a Division being closely tied to one another by reason of their working for one head on the Division.

Export and Import Rates and Rates for Local Industries.

In the matter of export and import rates, it is true, that a very large number of rates that constitute undue preference, etc., were removed after the publication of Railway Board's Monograph on Indian Railway Rates. In fact, the writing of this book (in 1917-1918) was undertaken by me to arrive at an understanding as to the past and present policy of India's Railway Rates and to ascertain whether the anomalies in the rates then existing were needed or not, and the idea was, as stated in the Preface of the book, that action would be taken as soon as normal conditions after the War prevailed. And thus when the rates were generally revised with effect from April, 1922, many of the anomalous rates were removed as the result of the examination, which was made by me very exhaustively on behalf of the Government of India who engaged me to write the book referred to. Yet some instances of such rates still exist. Take one illustration. Whereas the rate for wheat from Damoh to Bombay Port over the G. I. P. Railway for 700 miles is Re. 0-11-9 the rate for the same commodity from Damoh to Delhi is Re. 0-11-0 for 445 miles. Both are special rates. But it is seen that the export rate for 700 miles is about the same (Re. 0-11-9) as the internal rate (Re. 0-11-0) for the Indian Milling industry for 445 miles only. Then, again, the G. I. P. Railway have started lowering their rates for wheat from the Central Provinces to Bombay for export traffic and the B. N. Railway will follow suit. Further, there are yet differentiation between the rates to industrial centre. Sir Vithal Das Thackersay drew particular attention to this in the old Imperial Legislative Council on 1st March, 1912. Gwalior is about 77 miles nearer to the cotton-growing districts of C. P., Berar, than Cawnpore is and the traffic to both Gwalior and Cawnpore travels for the greater part of the distance over the same route (say from the Berars up to Jhansi), yet the cotton rates for the milling industries of Cawnpore are much lower than to Gwalior although the distances to Gwalior are shorter. For instance, the rate from Amraoti in the Berars to Cawnpore is Rs. 2-6-5 per maund, while that from Amraoti to Gwalior is Rs. 2-9-6. Several such instances can be quoted proving that Cawnpore gets better treatment than Agra or Gwalior.

Surplus Stores.

The writing off of a sum of 3 crores of rupees on account of surplus stores which could not be used is a very great loss. Such things must have been happening for years and one cannot say how many crores of rupees have been spent, like this year after year. In 1911, in my book "Indian Railways and Indian Trade" attention was pointedly drawn to this very point. The necessity for correct indenting for stores, particularly to prevent stores ordered becoming obsolete afterwards, was pointed out then and appointment of independent Store Verifiers was suggested, so that they could periodically check the surplus stores of all State-owned railways directly managed by the State or based to comparing and investigate all matters connected with stores supplies. Such Inspectors even now, on behalf of the newly created Stores Department of the Government of India, would be useful.

Railway Legislation.

The Government Member lately said in the Assembly that the question of revision of Railway Act was referred to the Board of Directors of Indian Railways (*i.e.*, the company-managed State Railways). Now these companies are mere lessees or contractors of the Government, but their interests apparently had, in the past, preference over those of the Indian people,
's of the Indian Railways. When the
evised (1890) the existence of the
prevented the Indian public from
tages from the Indian Railway

Act as the English people were enjoying through the British Railway Act, although such a thing was in a way promised first to the Indian people by a Government of India notification. When, however, the actual passing of the Railway Bill came the Government gave more liberal consideration to the interests of the companies than a court of law would have given. This fact was plainly admitted by the then Law Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy in introducing the bill in the Legislative Council. The then companies were the owners of railways although their interests were safeguarded by the guaranteed dividend, but to-day the companies are mere lessees and their interests ought not to predominate over those of the Indian people. Moreover, there is a provision in the contracts with these companies that they must submit to any legislation for the time being in force in India and that the companies would not be entitled to any compensation owing to any action of the Indian legislature. From the reply of the Commerce Member it seemed, however, that the Railway Act would be revised in any case to admit of a Rates Tribunal being created.

Company versus *State Management.*

Separation of Railway Budget is dependent on State Management. State Management of State Railways was decided by the Legislative Assembly in Delhi in 1923. The question is going to be revived again—on what grounds it is not known. Indian Railways are already nationalised. It is only the management that is of the companies. Even if such companies are Indian companies it makes no difference. It is understood that in the proposed Indian companies half the Directors are to be Europeans, and the majority are *not* going to be Indians. Even if they were there is no reason why nationalised railways should not be managed by the Government. Th [illegible] Railways are managed by the State an [illegible] Government Railways by the Canadi [illegible]

Railways of England and America are company-managed this is due to their being company-owned. In India the bulk of the capital is to be that of the Indian taxpayers, and yet, it is asked that the management should be that of the companies. *It was already plainly admitted by the* Railway Board, and the Acworth Railway Committee also found on detailed examination, that there was much difference between State management and Company management in India. If the E. I. Railway wagon loads are better than that of the E. B. S. Railway it is entirely due to E. I. Railway carrying wheat and coal and the E. B. S. Railway carrying jute (pressed ; loose and half-pressed). If the E. I. Railway engines and wagons run for a larger number of miles than the E. B. S. Railway it is due to the E. I. Railway carrying long load traffic and the E. B. S. Railway short load traffic but the train loads of the E. I. Railway and the work done per wagon per day are getting worse every day as already shewn in this article. The G. I. P. Railway Companies working expenses were high, its train loads were bad, the N. W. Railway expenses were also high, *due in both cases to special reasons. If there is any difference in the results of State management and Company management it is entirely due to traffic and working conditions being different and not owing to inefficiency of one and efficiency of the other.* If the percentage of working expenses to earnings is less on the E. I. Railway it is entirely due to the earnings on the E. I. Railway being bigger, and the nett earnings of the E. I. Railway are more owing to cost of hauling traffic being cheap, due to the geographical position of the E. I. Railway, as very plainly admitted in the Imperial Gazetteer (Indian Empire Series Vol. III in Chapter VII). It is not due to any effort on the part of the management, so the Gazetteer suggests and says that the cost of working such a line would in any case have been moderate. Actually the higher-paid staff in the E. I. Railway is greater and they get much higher salaries and are mostly Europeans, Indians get better pay on State Railways and hold more responsible posts. Moreover, the chance of Indians rising to the higher grades is marred on the E. I. Railway because, for instance, out of all its traffic officers who are Indians it is said that the E. I. Railway have arranged that only two or three Indians should be in the Imperial grade and the balance are to remain in the local grade, where they would remain permanently as assistants and their maximum salaries will be Rs. 750 or Rs. 800 against the Imperial grades men (who are all Europeans and Anglo-Indians except 2 or 3 Indians) can rise up to Rs. 2,750 or 3,000 or at least up to Rs. 1,250 in any case.

In regard to employment of Indians in the higher grades, it is wrong to suppose that it is only in the officers' grades that there are mostly Europeans and Anglo-Indians, because most of the appointments above Rs. 150 are held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians. I am told that at the end of June, 1923, the following was the proportion on the E. I. Railway:

Appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 150.

Held by Indians	Rs.	592
Held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians ...	„	5,315

Appointments carrying salaries of over Rs. 350:

Held by Indians	Rs.	57
Held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians	„	654

These figures will speak for themselves. They will be found to be fairly correct. In any case, the Assembly may ask for correct and up-to-date figures on these lines. The East Indian Railway classified List will be the best to be called for by the Assembly.

I have already dealt with the question of State *versus* Company Management of our railways very exhaustively in Part III of Indian Railway Economics (Calcutta University Publication), *vide* Chapters I to V and VIII to XI.

Summary.

Now to sum up. The functions of State Railways of a country are either to earn money for the public treasury or to exist as great public works and to render service, irrespective of revenue. The former are the functions of Indian State Railways.

In India, we are told by the Government members in the Council and the Assembly that although the Indian railways are State-owned they are to all intents and purposes commercial undertakings and should be managed as such.

In any commercial undertaking the owners always get a dividend. The companies, who manage some of our State Railways, get dividends on their share of the capital. It is, therefore, reasonable that the Government of India should receive a dividend on their share.

In any commercial concern there are the working expenses, first, then interest on loans, depreciation fund, sinking funds and over and above a dividend, and the loans are also redeemed out of the earnings of the undertaking.

The Indian people in the past retrenched expenditure in all directions to provide money for railways; very large portions of the sums raised by rupee loans in India, by means of three and three and half per cent. Government paper, were spent on railways, and the value of these Government securities has gone down very considerably and even if the railways of India prosper in future the holders of the old 3 or 3½ per cent. Government paper are not going to benefit in the least thereby on their investments.

It has been suggested that a minimum dividend of 2% should be paid by the railways to the General Revenues of the country, and the redemption of capital, interest on loans, depreciation fund, sinking fund should all be met out of Railway Revenue, the same as would be done in any commercial undertaking.

In India, the average charge on goods traffic carried by railways is 6·1 pies per ton mile and in the United States of America it is 6·7 pies per ton mile. For passengers, for comfortable travelling the lowest American railway fares are 18·7 pies per mile and the Indian railway fares for mere transportation are 3·8 pies per mile. Taking the average earning in India at 8 annas a day for unskilled labour, for expenditure of one day's wages he can travel say 26 miles (8 annas or 96 pies ÷ 3·8 pies), whereas an unskilled labourer in U.S.A. can travel (taking his wages at Rs. 6 a day or 1,152 pies) 61 miles (1,152 pies ÷ 18·7 pies). Even taking the average wages at 12 (twelve) annas a day for an Indian unskilled labourer the distance he can travel for one day's wages is 38 miles (144 pies ÷ 3.8 pies). So in effect the Indian fares and rates are not cheap, having regard to the travelling power of the public and in consideration of the cost of construction and the working expenses of Indian railways which are cheaper for India than for American Railways chiefly on account of cheaper local labour in India. In connection with the theory of charging what the traffic will bear the late Mr. Neville Priestley comparing India with America wrote as follows in 1903.

> "Lastly, to go back to the theory of charging traffic what it will bear, the wage of an unskilled labourer averages for all parts of the States, $1·25 or 750 pies, or Rs. 3-14-6 a day. In India, the same class of man receives from two to four annas a day, that is, from Rs. 3-12 to Rs. 7-8 a month, assuming that he works every day. This class represents the bulk of the population, and the business of a country must be influenced by the powers of consumption of the largest class. With a daily wage of two annas (*2d.* or 4 cents) a day (and all other labour is paid proportionately to this rate : the average for all classes in India being probably not more than Re. 1, or 32 cents a day) the purchasing power is naturally very much limited, and if in America low rates have been found to be necessary to ensure a proper development of business they would seem to be much more necessary in India to secure the same results, where not only the margin, but the whole sum available for expenditure by the multitude, is so small."

These remarks apply with equal force to-day (if not with much greater force) because the economic conditions of India both as regards the margin available and the total money is not satisfactory.

In the case of exports out of India the Indian Railway rates on raw materials can be kept higher because the rates will practically be paid by consumers in foreign countries, and so long as the Indian goods are able to compete in the foreign markets with other suppliers the railway rates for wheat, oilseeds and cotton for export can remain high.

In America cheap rates and fares are given by railways in spite of their bearing all such charges out of railway revenue. I have already said how this should eventually be done in India. The policy of providing funds for Railways, for all the works required for making the railways able to carry traffic and more traffic, should be a bold one; and on the Railways satisfying the Government and the Government the Assembly as to what return the extra expenditure will bring the money should be found. There is no objection to separation of Railway Budget if the railways pay a dividend, which dividend should be credited to the General Revenues, as the object of State Railways is to earn money for the public treasury, and nation-building works of the country should receive contributions from railways in a substantial way. This will only be right seeing that the Indian Railways were provided by the Indian people out of money raised by taxation, by loans, by curtailing expenditure in other directions and the Indian people suffered loss on account of payment of premiums to the old companies, from whom the railways were purchased and on account of making up of deficits of guaranteed dividend. And state management of Indian Railways that are state-owned should be extended and company management removed.

S. C. Ghose

WINGED-FANCY

Little swallow, could I follow,
Thy wild flight across the sky ;
I would never pause to rest
On the bosom of the West,
'Til I reached my Ladye's breast ;
There to live or die.

Little swallow, could I follow,
Thy sweet song at even-tide ;
I would never cease to sing,
'Til my Ladye's heart would ring.
With the love that came in Spring,
When cold Winter died.

Little swallow, could I follow,
Thy swift journey South ;
I would wing my flight space,
Like an arrow cutting space,
'Til I begged of Her sweet grace,
Kisses, on Her mouth.

Little swallow, all I follow,
Thro' the yearning empty years ;
Is the shadow of my dreams,
Like thy flight o'er hill and streams ;
When the dying sunlight gleams,
Like a smile, thro' tears.

Lily Strickland-Andeson

FEMININITY IN LETTERS

Most people would eliminate altogether the element of sex from literature and other arts. Art is art, they would say, whoever the creator. They would not look for or recognise the existence of any differentiating qualities in a work of fiction, poetry or drama that would enable us to mark it out as the work of a man or a woman; their line of approach to a work of art would be entirely independent of the sex of the writer. Accustomed to the preponderance of male tone, temper and outlook in works of art, they would resent the intrusion in them of anything distinctly feminine; and femininity in art is to them either non-existent, or another name for effeminacy.

We cannot understand such an attitude; we hold it to be an essentially faulty one. To our mind, a woman's work derives from the fact that it is a woman's a peculiar aroma, a certain charm of its own. It is fraught with a special significance for us as we expect to find in it things of purely and obviously feminine character and interest, and we are grateful to the authoress if, instead of giving us a colourless, impersonal, and hence artistically defective work, or a mere dull and worn-out repetition of male sentiments and perceptions, she gives us something which is fresh and original because it is suffused with her personality, and which has a special value to us as being a true index to the ever subtle, elusive and haunting element of femininity.

The theory that art is art whoever the creator does not prevent us from distinguishing in what they wrote Shakespeare from Milton, Shelley from Keats. If æsthetic criticism takes delight in discriminating between the varying shades of personalities of writers belonging to the same sex, what more fascinating pursuit can it have than the discovery of subtle and fugitive differences between the perceptions, instincts, feelings and outlooks of the two sexes,—differences which are, again, of supreme importance in as much as they are primal and elemental and go to the roots of our being, and which are not the less interesting when they are the outcome of convention.

Also, only through art can these differences be made manifest. Art is instinct with personality, deeply coloured by it. The artist is always revealing himself in his works. In moments of exaltation he dips the pen or the brush in his heart's blood. If the artistic expression of a woman is at all to be sincere, it must bear unmistakable impress of its origin; it is bound to have the genuine ring of her accent, the peculiar rhythm of her emotions and passions; bound to have the wholeness, the grace, the allurement, the delicacy or the mockery and triviality of the feminine mind. The truths of art are not like the truths of science, independent of the personality or the colour of the mind that discovers them, free from the personal equation. On the other hand, the personal factor is the breath of life in art. Artistic truths are deeply personal truths, and the different hues and shades that personality can assume are of their very essence. The artist can make the world full of meaning, strangeness and beauty to us only as it is so to himself; nature is alive to the poet because he quickens it with his throbbing heart. A piece of deeply and strangely moving tragedy like *Hamlet* is the impress of a personality that has lived deeply and intensely feeling life in every limb and wondering at its profound secrets. Science cannot reveal our intimacies, cannot touch the deep springs of our feelings and emotions. It cannot give us, therefore, the subtle and evanescent differences between the sexes, which always baffle cold-blooded analysis and introspection, and which can only be made vivid by the spontaneous self-revealing process of art. The fine perceptions and exquisite sensations, the vague questionings and yearnings the instinctive apprehensions and realisations, the undefined motives and impulses that lie in the dusky deeps of our inmost selves, and that would almost fade in an attempt to give them expression—these are among the dimly recognisable things that constitute the difference between the sexes, and they can only be revealed by art.

Our test of sincerity of a woman's artistic expression is, therefore, the very quality which most people would deride—femininity. Without it our civilisation is incomplete and one-sided as it has been so far. The arts do not merely reflect civilisation; they constitute it, and are its life. But the expression of its meaning and purpose has too long been in the hands of one sex. The world has too long been exclusively man's world. He has long occupied himself with the expression of his relation to the world and to woman, and has taught us something of its spiritual significance. The time has been long due when we should have the significance of woman's relation to the world and to man. This will form the special contribution of woman to the spiritual heritage of the world, and it will be of value in proportion as its expression is sincere; in proportion, that is, as it is thoroughly and genuinely feminine in character. It will, therefore, be something fresh and different from the work of men, and assuredly as beautiful when it attains a corresponding wealth and intensity of artistic expression. Without entering into the useless and threadbare controversy about the inferiority or superiority of women to men we regard their work as mutually complementary, and of equal importance, therefore, for our civilisation to be perfect. This is the reason why the growing tendency of the age is to attach greater value to the contribution of women with the advent of every new year. A heaven of beauty and truth is yet hidden to us, and the golden key is in the hands of woman. Life has secrets which she whispers into the ears of woman only, and which can only be revealed by the articulation of the hitherto mute and submerged sex. So long woman has had to conform to standards invented by man who has judged her according to qualities he has read or fancied in her. As a result of the misfit of man-imposed systems to her real self, there have been either terrible explosions in our family and social lives, or there has been the unnatural and deplorable tendency of woman not to be her real self as she was actually intended by nature, but to conform as much as possible to the masculine idea of femininity. The growth of her individuality has been crippled, and by way of reaction there has ensued in modern times a most unnatural and unhealthy competition for superiority between the sexes. With the growth of first-hand knowledge of what women actually are, and their attitude towards men, the road will be paved towards greater understanding and happier union, and the conflict of the sexes will be ended.

Our regret is that the contribution of women to the arts has been so little so far; and at the present moment we are perhaps hoping from it more than we can reasonably expect. This is due to the belated appearance of women on the literary stage. In England the thought of the poetess or the woman novelist did not take deep roots till the 19th century in such persons as Mrs. Browning and George Eliot. The output of woman's contribution to letters has since then been steadily on the increase, and is at present by no means inconsiderable. Yet the lethargy of human mind has been too great, the conventional mistrust of the blue-stocking too strong for a free outpouring of the feminine mind. Too much against her has also been the general fallacy that a woman becomes cold-hearted from being clear-headed, that the sharpening of her intellect implies a corresponding hardening of the heart. There have been other difficulties in the way, too. The language which has so long been exclusively man's mintage has yet to be moulded so as to yield the peculiar idiom of woman's speech, to be delicately responsive to her peculiar inflexions, and to be a proper symbol for her peculiar imageries and perceptions. This is why too many women write in the borrowed language of men, and deal in feelings and sentiments borrowed from them. Only in rare instances of extremely daring and original minds do we find wit that is a woman's wit, perceptions that are a woman's perceptions, passions that are a woman's passions. Their crying defect is the tendency to be the empty replica of men. The more truly and deeply feminine a woman writer is, the greater her freshness and originality in a world crammed with masculine work, and the surer her chances of success with both male and female readers of the discerning sort. The modern world is astir with the awakening of the feminine mind, and there is an ever-increasing eagerness to know Eve's point of view.

The genius of women has so long found the most congenial home in poetry and fiction. Few have attempted and fewer succeeded in the province of the drama. The only instances that come to our mind as rising above average performance in this kind are the isolated ones like Clemence Dane's *A Bill of Divorcement*. This perhaps betrays the native tendency of women to be to write about themselves. We add the consideration that in poetry they have found their best medium in the lyric; their poetry, again, is more of sensibility than passion; of delicate fancy than far-stretching and vivid imagination; of fine observation and exquisite sensation rather than deep understanding and novel creation. In fiction the greatest novelists like Jane Austen, George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë have succeeded best when they have drawn upon personal experience and created spiritual autobiographies. Their scenes have been restricted within the range of their personal observation, and their hands have lost their cunning a little when like George Eliot in *Romola* they did not have the guidance of concrete experience. Their perpetual tendency to spin out of and around themselves is also illustrated by the usual felicity with which they have created female characters, while the men depicted by them have rarely been of the masculine gender. Their Maggie Tullivers and Jane Eyrés are among the best heroines in the literature of the world, perhaps. But their men-like Tom Tulliver or Rochester are unnatural, mere portraits drawn from the outside with the fatal tendency to degenerate into paste-board. How many of us can control our feelings of jealousy and disappointment when we find the matchless Maggie compromising herself with the unworthy Stephen who is no better than a tailor's dummy. Their inability to assume a purely intellectual and detached attitude is seen from the consideration that comedy which is a game depending more on thinking than on feeling, goes, perhaps, somewhat against the grain with them. What we notice in them is an occasional twinkle in the eye, the flicker of a smile in a corner of the mouth. We may even have the light pin-pricks of genial satire and touches of agreeable malice now and then, but we have yet to wait for the time when Meredith's dream of a civilized world where men and women are the equal participators in the game of comedy will be realised. There seem to be few Millamants or Célimènes and Beatrices among them. Indeed, want of humour is a lamentable defect in most female writers. That is why we too often find them taking things, and sometimes trivial things, in dead seriousness forgetting that a smile can be occasionally more effective than a shower of vehement abuse, a jest more crushing than a blow.

Judging from their past achievements in the fields of art, the chances of women producing works of the greatest scope may be said to be yet far-off. The difficulties in the way are greater for them than for men. Their temperament is perhaps more receptive and reflective than originative. They have been accorded less power and less opportunity by nature. They have yet to develop that iron grip over the subject-matter that is necessary for art-creation and to prove themselves capable of that austere discipline and effort that are required for sustained artistic work.

The fountain-head of the impulse to poetic activity is the passion of love, and for love woman has the somewhat unpromising and prosaic object of man ; for man does not lend himself so easily to the transforming and moulding processes of poetry as woman. In temperament less transitional, in appearance less mobile, he is not essentially so poetical as woman. Though the plastic artists have raised the male form æsthetically above the female in points of grandeur, proportion and range of expressiveness of abiding qualities, yet female beauty by virtue of its very frailty, transitoriness, and adaptability is intrinsically more poetical, and suggestive of things beyond itself. It commends itself with special facility to poetic art because the latter can better seize upon, vivify and immortalise the more-transient, evanescent and fugitive changes of appearance and expression corresponding to the fleeting changes of the mood. Also, man's love is a poetical thing inasmuch as in the singing of it, its character gets changed, though consistently with itself. Its process of development is one of gradual completion and spiritualisation whether conscious or unconscious ; and this change, this spiritual transformation is the essence of all love songs. The poet's love is ever incomplete and restlessly reaching out for perfection. The flower that first blooms as the red rose of individual desire becomes in the end the white lily of the deepest universal yearnings. Emilia Viviani and Beatrice are only the stepping-stones to their spiritual doubles, the embodiments of the highest desires and aspirations of men. But woman's love is more of a natural spiritual whole, more complete in itself, and does not, perhaps, need so much the transforming and perfecting activity of song. We are not saying this because we have not had a female Dante or Shelley yet, but because the question is whether we shall ever have a female Dante or Shelley.

Whatever their limitations, we look upon the female writers who have already lived among us with particular gratitude. The need for them was great; and we look forward to have more of them, to see the range and intensity of their work grow. Considering the growing number of talented female writers ours is not an impossible hope. But it will only be possible when every woman writer grows out of the still lingering superstition that to be great she must unsex herself. On the other hand, she will be at her best when she is vividly and intensely her own self, and fail utterly when she assumes the cloak of man.

J. C. GHOSH

THE BOGHAZKÖI INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR VALUE FOR VEDIC CHRONOLOGY

(*A Rejoinder*)

The Editors of the *Calcutta Review* have laid Mofussil students under great obligation by publishing in its November (1923) issue Professor Winternitz's Readership Lecture on the *Age of the Veda.* Those who have read the Professor's previous pronouncement on the subject[1] will not be less interested to read his latest pronouncement in a connected form.

Professor Winternitz is no narrow specialist. He is thoroughly acquainted with the whole range of Early Indian literature (Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit) and his views can claim the respect of students of Vedic chronology. He seems to have lost faith in astronomical arguments and rightly bases his conclusions on historical and geographical grounds. He has worked on very sound lines and he ought to convince the worst sceptic. Still he seems to have not *sufficiently* emphasised the vast difference in language, metre and thought between the earliest and the latest hymns of the Ṛgveda though he has said in italics, "*Centuries must have passed between the composition of the earliest hymns and the completion of the Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda.*" He has also exaggerated the agreement of the language of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions with that of the Vedas. The resemblance is rather with classical Sanskrit or even the earliest Prakrit dialects. The language of the Avesta shows us forms considerably earlier than those of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions. Hence it would not be difficult to push back the beginning of the Ṛgvedic literature to 3000 B. C.

Professor Winternitz thinks that no conclusion about Vedic chronology can be drawn from the mention of four Indian deities in the two Boghaz Köi treaties. But I shall try to show that some help may be derived from this source. It is probable that between 2000 B. C. and 1500 B. C. or a little later there were several arrivals of Aryan peoples in Asia Minor and all doubt is removed by the occurrence of these four names of undoubtedly Aryan gods in the Hittite treaties. This fact has some importance from the Indian point of view. We find in two Vedic passages of the Brāhmaṇa [illegible]riod indications of a recent arrival in India of other Aryan peoples on a large scale. It is possible to think that between 2000 B. C. and 1400 B. C. there were several stampedes of Aryans from Central Asia, that some of these peoples found their way to Asia Minor and formed the ancestors of the Kassites, the princes of Mittani and the people whose deities are mentioned in the two treaties between Shubbiluliuma and Mattiuaza and that some entered India and became known as Vrātyas.[1]

---

[1] Geschichte der indischen Literatur, I, 1909, pp. 246-258, supplemented in the Third Volume of the book, published last year, pp. 621-622.

We find the Vrātyas first described in the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa and in the fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda Saṁhitā (Śaunakīyā) which in language and form resembles a Brāhmaṇa text and probably belongs to the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa has given a pretty full description of the dress and way of life of these Vrātyas. From this we cannot conclude that these Vrātyas followed a religion different from that of the Vedic Indians. Their nomad existence precluded the possibility of performance of sacrifices but they must have worshipped much the same gods, otherwise the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa would have noted the difference. Even the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda show us a highly developed religion, and the religion of the Vedic Indians must have grown and developed in Central Asia prior to their entrance into India. Aryan religion is thus a thing of Central Asiatic growth. It must have lingered there for many centuries even after the ancestors of Indians and Iranians had left for their later homes. We find therefore in the Pahlavi Aryādgār-i- Zarirān and in Firdausi that the Turanian king Arjāsp declared war against Viṣtāsp for leaving their common ancestral religion and coming under the influence of Zarathuṣtra's innovations. This tradition about the unity of Iranian and Turanian religions finds an unexpected confirmation from two Avestan texts, Farvardin Yasht 100 and Zamyād Yasht 86 where king Viṣtāsp is said to have freed the Zoroastrian religion from the influence of the *Hunus* (Turanians). Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Modi therefore rightly says, "The early Huns, *i.e.*, the Huns of the times of the Avesta seem to have professed well-nigh the same religion as that of the early Iranians."[2] The religion of the Zoroastrian Iranians was much the same as in India, except in those particulars which were due to the reformation of Zarathuṣtra and those that can be accounted for by natural development. There would thus be nothing strange in our finding among the Vrātyas [1] of India and the Aryans of Asia Minor much the same religion as in Vedic India.

---

[1] Some of these Aryans of Central Asia may also have entered Europe and become the ancestors of the western *satemites*, the Baltic and the Slavic people. This supposition would give an easy explanation of their close resemblance with the Indo-Iranians.

[2] Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 76.

Now the most important statements in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa about the Vrātyas are हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये व्रात्यां (व्रत्यां in the text, a printing mistake for व्रात्यां) प्रवसन्ति न हि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वणिज्याम्—१७॥१।२।६॥ and गरगिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यं जन्यमन्नमदन्ति अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति—॥१७।१॥६॥. From the former we learn that the Vrātyas lived a nomad life ; from the latter, that they felt no scruples in snatching away the wealth of Brahmins and women, that they were rather militantly inclined, not hesitating to harm inoffensive people, and also that they gave themselves religious airs. "अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः" is understood to refer to the Prakritism in their speech but the context forces me to understand the passage quite differently. The previous expression ब्रह्माद्यं जन्यम् (from जनि= woman) अन्नम् अदन्ति "they devour the food of Brahmins and women" and the following one अदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति "they walk about belabouring persons least deserving of the rod" make us suspect that अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः refers to similar rowdyism. Now *durukta* certainly means *nindā* (vilification) in इयं दुरुक्तात्परिबाधमाना वर्णं पवित्रं पुनतीम आगात्। प्राणापानानाभ्यां बलमाहरन्ती स्वसा देवी सुभगा मेखलेयम्॥ (Mantra Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda, I. 6. 27), a verse utilised by followers of the Sāma and other Vedas in the ceremony of *mekhalādhāraṇa* (putting on of the sacred girdle) in connection with Upanayana.[2] The girdle saves the Brahmacārin from the reproach of breaking the vow.[3] *Durukta* here clearly means 'reproach' and it has been so taken by Dr. H. Stönner ("vor böser Rede)" in his translation of the Mantra Brāhmaṇa (I Pr.) and by Professor Oldenberg ("evil words") in his translation of the Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra. Taking a clue from this I interpret अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa to mean 'they say (*i. e.*, consider) what is not a term of reproach to be a sling (directed against them)'—that is, they take offence at shadows. This is exactly in keeping with their aggressive character, clearly indicated in the other expressions, which scruples not to rob or oppress the poor. ब्रह्मद्यं जन्यमन्नमदन्त अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति thus shows that the Vrātyas were a rather rough sort of people.

---

[1] It is usual in our country to suppose that the Vrātyas were Indian Aryans who had lapsed into barbarism by living among non-Aryans or had dissented from the Vedic creed. I think the Vedic passages describing them do not warrant such views. I may mention here only the different dress of the Vrātyas and their having a peculiar sort of cars in which they must have entered India.

[2] Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 10. 37, Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 4. 19, Jaiminīya Gṛhya, XII. 6. and Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 2. 8. In the last book it has the reading दुरुक्तं for दुरुक्तात् and आदधाना for आहरन्ती both later improvements. Not having the Vedic Concordance before me I cannot say if the verse is utilised by the other Gṛhya Sūtras or not.

[3] For a somewhat similar idea I may refer my readers to Deuteronomy, XXII. 15-19.

Along with this fierce character the Vrātyas must have possessed religious (or magical ?) propensities. This is shown by the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa expression अ दीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति and the whole fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda. '*Dīkṣita*' would mean one who had performed the *Soma* sacrifice. Such a person would be justly proud of his religious merits. But the Vrātyas talked big though they did not perform any Vedic sacrifice. This was an unpardonable sin in the eyes of these ritual-loving writers of Brāhmaṇas. The Atharva Veda on the other hand being more liberal grew enthusiastic over the religious character (possession of magical or *Yogic* powers ?) of this very Vrātya and did not scruple to make a god of him. I believe that the Vrātya of the Atharva Veda is not the convert to the Vedic religion who has performed the conversion sacrifice (the Vrātyastoma) mentioned in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa and in the Sūtras as Professors Macdonell and Keith have supposed.[1] I think he is there still a Vrātya and fresh from his northern home. This is made probable by the direction in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa that the Vrātya must give away all his former belongings as *dakṣiṇā*. The sūtras (*e. g.*, Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, VIII. 6. 28) direct that they are to be given to those Vrātyas who may be still pursuing their old life [2] for which injunction the Tāndya mahābrāhmaṇa statement "एतद्वै व्रात्यधनं यस्मा एतद्ददति तस्मिन्नेव मृजाना यन्ति" (XVII. 1. 16) gives some sort of support. The Vrātya is thus to cut off all connection with his past and to begin life anew. The mention in Atharva Veda, XV. 2. 5-7 of the turban, the goad (lance ?), the open waggon and the other characteristic marks of the Vratya shows that he had not yet been converted into the Vedic way of life. He was thus a new-comer. He must have come from the north. This is made probable by the fact that in the Vāja-Saneyi Samhītā XXX. 8 and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III. 4.5 he is dedicated to the Gandharvas and Apsarases, गन्धर्वाप्सरोभ्यो व्रात्यम्, in the Puruṣamedha ('human sacrifice'); the north is certainly the direction of Gandharvas and Apsarases. As these Vrātyas came from the north, were religiously inclined and probably had mystic powers, they possessed a particularly sacred character in the eyes of those Indians who are responsible for the Atharva Veda. The Atharva Veda is a particularly liberal book and contains in it terms and tenets of other lands.[1] We find similarly in the later Tāntric literature which is something like a continuation of the Atharvavedic writings complimentary references to the practices in the *Cīna deśa* and the *Mahācīnadeśa* (Tibet and China).

---

[1] Vedic Index, II, p. 344.

[2] The Lātyāyana Srauta Sūtra adds 'or to pseudo-Brahmins of Magadha's ब्रह्मबन्धवे वा मागधदेशीयाय This is very interesting as it shows that the Vedic culture had not yet spread in Magadha, and a Brāhmin settled there would be considered a pseudo-Brahmin. It would not be proper to conclude from the Lātyāyana statement that Buddhist heresy had begun to spread in Magadha for the simple reason that Buddha himself was not a heretic and he has uttered the highest praise for the true Brahmin—Brahmanical culture had fully permeated Magadha by his time.

From all this I conclude that the Vrātyas were Aryans who entered India from the north in the early Brāhmaṇa period (to which are to be ascribed the fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda and the thirtieth book of the Vājasaneyi Samhitā and the corresponding passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa) and were very keen about their religion though they never performed any sacrifices. It was after some time that many of them were overcome by the glamour of Vedic sacrifices, or became convinced of the superiority of the Vedic way of life, and took it into their heads to enter the Vedic fold by performing the Vrātyastoma sacrifice mentioned in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa and the Sūtras. Their Indian name (*Vrātya*) shows that they came in hordes (*Vrāta*-troop). Whether they actually invaded India is not known; they may have only sneaked their way into the land like gypsies.

I would consider the various Aryan tribes arriving in Asia Minor between 2000 B.C. and 1400 B.C. as similar "Vrātyas." They too were probably not very peaceful peoples and they were certainly particular about the gods they worshipped when they first came. They were also a very backward people from the point of view of civilisation. During the Kassite ascendancy, Babylonian culture received a set-back[2] and monumental and inscriptional activity became dead. The Mitannian princes were so prominent in Mesopotamian history only because they had thoroughly imbibed the culture of the land after centuries of life in Asia Minor. There is therefore nothing strange in King Dushratta's sending to the Phoraoh Nimmuriya (Amenhetep III) of Egypt the goddess Ishtar, of Nineveh and in his frequent invoking of Ishtar, Ammon, Tishub, Bīlit and other deities of the land in the Tell-el-Amarna Letters.

---

[1] See the late Mr. Tilak's article "The Chaldean and Indian Vedas" in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.

[2] Hall's Ancient History of the Near East, 1916, p. 200.

Mattiuaza too in his reply treaty with the King of Khatti invokes all those gods and goddesses whom Shubbiluliuma has invoked. This surrender of orthodoxy is the result of a long residence in the land. Still we may think that the mystic worship of *Aten* which Amenhetep IV (later Akhenaten) tried to introduce into Egypt is due to Mitannian influences. At any rate these various Aryans when they first came must have been zealous about their religion. If they had leanings towards magic, these would not be noticed in Asia Minor, the land of magic.

If we can chronologically connect the various Aryan inroads in Asia Minor and the Vrātya inroads in India, Vedic chronology is put on a firm ground. Even an indefinite figure like 2000 B.C.—1400 B. C. is a great gain in Indian chronology. The beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period may be put sometime after 2000 B.C. and the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa a little before 1400 B.C. or even before 1500 B.C. if we put the Bhārata battle in the fifteenth century B.C. The fact that most of the purāṇas put an interval of a little over a thousand years between Parikṣit's birth and the inauguration of Mahāpadma Nanda makes it probable that the Bhārata battle took place in the fifteenth century B.C.,[1] a date which would agree with the statement in the Khāravela Inscription. The Brāhmaṇas or those portions of Brāhmaṇas which mention Janamejaya III, the son of Parikṣit II or Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya[2] or other Mahābhāratic characters would be later than this date and those which do not make similar mentions need not be brought down to such a late date unless there should be positive ground against an early character. If we can thus place the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period sometime after 2000 B.C. and before 1400 B.C. the earlier portions of the Yajurveda[3] and of the Atharvaveda will go back to a much earlier time—to 2000 B.C. or earlier and the beginning of the Ṛg Veda will therefore have to be put before 3000 B.C.

Kshetreśachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya

---

[1] Pargiter has arrived at his date by confining himself to only one set of data and taking a much too low figure for the average of a generation.

[2] I think काशीराज constitutes no difficulty.

[3] Neither the Mantra nor the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā knows anything about the Vrātyas. The so-called Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is a very late appendix to it. The Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā though compiled long after the T.S. has its earlier and later portions.

Note.—In this paper I have often spoken of an 'Aryan people.' I mean by it any people speaking the Aryan language and following the Aryan religion. There is thus no connotation of 'Race' in the narrow Anthropological sense. This confession will save me from much misunderstanding.

THE PRICE OF LOVE

Last night I dreamed so strange a dream,
Of scenes so weird and fair,
O dainty reader! do not scream,
Such dreams are truly rare.

In dream, I wandered far, alone
And sat beneath a tree,
I sang a tune in soft a tone,
I felt so light and free.

At length a fairy came and said
"Come to the market place,
Where love is sold for price well paid,
Thou hast a lover's face."

She took me to a lovely grove
With flowers strewn all o'er,
To pick them up, in vain I strove,
They stuck fast to the floor.

I saw the flowery stalls where sat
A bevy of maidens fair,
A bough was hung with garlands fat
Writ "Love for sale, come here."

Bedecked with jewels there sat a girl,
I asked her for love's price,
She wanted tons of gold and pearl,
I felt as cold as ice.

The next there sat a lady fair,
Her blood was royal blue,
To ask her price, I did not dare,
She frowned at poor me too!

I passed another girl who said
"Canst thou a palace give
With many a servant, page and maid?
This is my price or leave".

From girl to girl I passed, but all
Demanded fancy price,
But I disdained to be a thrall,
My life to sacrifice.

At last I saw a maiden poor,
She stood behind them all
In modest robes and flowers pure,
Serenely fair and tall.

I asked her price of love; she said
"The price of love is love":
Methought, hath truly said this maid,
The price of love is love.

I offered her all my heart
She gave me sweet a kiss,
I bought my bride at love's own mart—
Wasn't it a dream of bliss?

C. C. MUKERJI

IMMANUEL KANT: HIS PROBLEM AND HIS SOLUTION

Kant was born on the 22nd of April, 1724, at Koenigsberg, the Capital and University town of East Prussia. Kant is not a German name. The philosopher himself said that it was the German spelling of the Scots name, Cant. This is possible enough. Before the union with England, Scotland had no colonial outlet for surplus population and business enterprise, and the chief resort for enterprising people from that country was the countries on the Baltic--Poland, Prussia, and the Baltic provinces of Russia—where many settled as traders and tradesmen (*The Scots in East Prussia* by E. Fischer). The " Dantzic merchant " has left some memorials of himself in his native country, *e.g.*, Robert Gordon's Hospital (College) in Aberdeen. But Kant's ancestors were humble people and his biographers have not been able to trace their history in detail.

His father was a saddler. He was educated at the High School and University of his native city. He devoted himself especially to the study of mathematics and physics, natural science, theology and philosophy. After his father's death in 1746 he earned a livelihood for some years by private tuition, but began even then to write scientific papers, and in consequence of these, was in 1755 received into the University as a private lecturer, and in 1770 was made full professor of philosophy. His lectures, both as private lecturer and professor seem to have been very comprehensive, including physics and biology as well as philosophy and logic. From this it is evident that he was recognised as master of all the scientific thought of his time. But we now see that he went far beyond his time; his scientific treatises contain the first formulations of the two hypotheses which have prompted and guided, more than anything else, the scientific thought of the following century and down to the present day. These were the theory of the origin of the planetary bodies and suns by the condensation of nebulous material diffused through space, and the origin of plant and animal species by development of higher from lower forms. These hypotheses have undergone considerable changes of form since his time, but their new forms are lineally descended from the suggestions of Kant.

His dissatisfaction with science.—But though master of the scientific thought of his time, he was not satisfied with it. He felt that something was wanting. We think that we know all about atoms and molecules, suns and planets but what does our knowledge of them really amount to? What do they all mean? What are they, or what do we really know about them? He was always, it would appear, asking in his own mind what Carlyle afterwards asked: "This green flowery rock-built earth, its seas and mountains, the deep sea of azure that swims overhead, the winds sweeping through it, the black cloud fashioning itself together, now pouring out fire, now hail and rain; what is it? At bottom we do not know." And Carlyle dismisses the question with the *non possumous.*—"We can never know at all." But to the mind of Kant, a more patient and laborious inquirer, the question would not let itself be dismissed. We may find out at least what things may be known to be,—what we can know about them—and find a sound reason for setting aside such subjects as may be found unknowable.

And with the common conception of the world.—For many years therefore he pondered on the relation of the physical world to finite mind and God, and came to the conclusion that the conception of these things held (generally) by popular opinion and accepted (generally) by science, could not be in accordance with reality, and that a complete transformation of the accepted world-theory was required.

(*a*) *That of the physical world.*—The world was conceived as composed of three absolute or quasi-absolute realities, each having its existence in itself, and going on independently of the others, *viz.*, nature, soul and God. The world of nature was assumed to be composed of particles of one particular substance, which had the property of filling and moving through space, and which were in constant movement, striking against one another and flying asunder again. They were possessed therefore of perpetual motion (also called force). Their perpetual motions were made possible by the existence of infinite space in which they moved. They were undergoing continual changes brought about by the movements, and collisions, combinations and dispersions of particles, and the succession of changes was made possible by the existence of time. Here then were four things existing absolutely—space and time, substance and motion. Though having no connection in themselves, they are supposed to come together, and lead to an infinity of combinations and dissolutions, which have no conceivable meaning or use. Or if they be supposed to have use in the sense that they produce living beings, these are disintegrated as fast as they are produced, and nothing of value is preserved.

(*b*) *That of mind.*—Then, as to the mental principle which knows and thinks all these things, no very clear and consistent conception had yet been attained. But usually it was conceived, after the analogy of matter, *viz.*, as a unit of substance, but of a different kind. It differs from material substance in not being, like matter, extended in space, but at the same time agree with it in being capable of motion and position in space and change in time, and of acting on matter and changing its position in space, and of being, at the same time, itself acted on and impressed by matter as if it were itself a material particle. It differs also in being capable of consciousness and of knowing material substance with its qualities and relations in space and time. It is nevertheless dependent for its own continued existence on the supply of certain particles transferred from matter, and is itself nothing but an adventitious, contingent and useless adjunct of the material world which it knows—not being necessary in any way to the world on which it lives and depends. But how could such a crowd of incoherent properties exist together in one reality?

As to how this adventitious adjunct of matter knows the material world on which it lives, moves and has its being, different opinions had been held. Some assumed that they knew the existence and attributes of matter just as they exist objectively, *i.e.*, just as they are outside of mind, and whether perceived by any mind or not. Others thought that we know only the primary qualities of matter; such qualities as temperature, colour, sound, taste and smell (called secondary) are only feelings in the mind of the observer; but extension, solidity and motion in these various forms can be known to be in material things just as they are reproduced in thought, and whether they are thought or not; and are enough of themselves to constitute the essence of a world of reality outside and independent of all mind.

(*c*) *And that of God.*—Finally, these things were commonly admitted to lead to a belief in God as a necessary inference—necessary to account for certain things not explained by anything in the world itself as thus conceived. Thus there was nothing in the nature of mind and matter in themselves as thus conceived, to explain how mind acts on matter or matter on mind so as to make knowledge and life on earth possible. And again, there was nothing in the nature of matter as thus conceived to explain how motion comes to arrange the particles of matter in such a way as to build up vegetable and animal organisms, and produce the co-ordinations and series of movements which is called life. To account for these things a power outside the world-system itself has to be conceived, acting on it by magic.

Already criticised by Hume.—This view of the world (in the main) was the one then generally accepted, and had been reduced to system by the thinker whose teaching was followed in Kant's own University—the system in which Kant himself had been trained—*viz.*, Wolf; and was for a time accepted passively by Kant himself. But after a long period of reflection he came to be dissatisfied with it. He was not alone in that; Hume had already made something like a *reductio ad absurdum* of the popular philosophy. But Hume's method had been popular and wanting in that exact logical analysis which Kant thought essential to scientific inquiry. And further, Hume had been purely negative in his results. He had merely destroyed, and had put nothing positive in the place of what he destroyed; and Kant felt that philosophy which gave no light for the guidance of life, is useless. But—

It was even defective as a foundation for science.—Among the grounds of his dissatisfaction the following especially weighed on his mind (urged also by Hume). The common view of the world, though accepted by science, was not really sufficient for the purposes of science. Science to be science must be founded on principles or axioms which are true in all times and places—universal and necessary truths. But if the world were so remote in its nature from knowing mind, it would be impossible to attain knowledge that would be universally and necessarily true—nothing more at most than knowledge of what has happened here and there and now and then. We should see only what takes place on the outside of such a world; we could not penetrate into its centre, and see what will follow necessarily from its inner nature. We may find something recurring frequently under the same circumstances but we cannot perceive any necessary connection between the circumstances and the event, without which the event will not always recur, so that its recurrence will never possess that certainty required by science. Though mind was assumed to exist, it was not shown to have any essential connection with the world, but is only a casual mirror which reflects events in the order in which they occur before it, but which is itself passive and has nothing to do with making of the events. In order that real knowledge may be possible, therefore, there must be some essential connection between the mind which knows and the world which is known.

Hence attention drawn to the problem of knowing.—The difficulties regarding the attainment of truth, already pointed out by Hume, and Hume's own sceptical conclusion that real truth is unattainable, drew Kant's attention to the process of *knowing*, and determined his own future method of procedure—his *critical* method. We must consider what knowing is, and what its conditions are, and thereby see how it is possible to know things, and what things must be in order that they may be known. We shall then be able to understand how far the above conception of the world is consistent with the true conditions of knowledge and therefore tenable, and shall be warranted in setting aside what in it is inconsistent with these conditions, and put in their place conceptions which are truly thinkable and logically demonstrable.

His critical method.—Now we must assume a subject or thinking principle which knows, and an object or world which is known, and a process by which the subject knows the object. The key therefore to what we know is contained in the process of knowing. It is by analysing it, that we can find out how things can be known, and what we really know regarding the world (as opposed to what we merely imagine), and what the world must be in order that we may be able to know it. This method will be *critical* as compared with the dogmatic habit of assuming that we know things without inquiring how it is possible for us to know them.

Kant from this point of view considered for many years the commonly accepted conception of the world and how it might be transformed, and at last made his conclusions known in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1781. The first edition (translated by Max Müller) was somewhat diffuse in parts and left him open to some misunderstandings. A second edition appeared in 1782 (translated by Meiklejohn) in which he expressed his meaning more succinctly and clearly, and guarded more carefully against misunderstandings; and he declared the second edition to be the correct and definitive expression of his conclusions. He divided his subject into two main parts. The first part was to be positive, and was to answer the question: what must the world be in order that it may be known. The second part was to be negative, and to show that the world cannot be what it is commonly assumed to be by both science and common opinion. The world must be something of which knowledge is possible, but such a world as that commonly assumed would be unknowable. Hence the first question is—

A

What the world must be in order that it may be knowable.

Kant will not leave off where Hume left off. He will not accept the sceptical conclusion. Knowledge is possible. Science has proved it by its power of anticipating the future. If the prevailing conception of the world is inconsistent with the possibility of such knowledge, that conception must itself be wrong. Another conception must be sought—one which will be consistent, in all points, with the conditions of knowledge, and will be made necessary by the nature of knowledge itself.

Such a conception can be attained only by first considering the nature and conditions of knowing itself. What is meant by knowing things? How can things be known? What takes place in the mind when we come to know things ? What must things be in order that they may be known ?

What then is knowing ? In the process of knowing two stages have to be considered. The first is sensation which is held to contain all the elements or materials required for knowledge. The second is understanding which consists in interpreting the materials contained in sensation and raising them into actual knowledge. Hence the question regarding knowledge resolves itself into two: that of the origin of sensation, and that of the nature and authority of the interpretative power which elicits from sensation that knowledge of things which is contained in it implicitly. Therefore Kant devotes the first part of his *Critique* of Knowledge to *Æsthetic* or the science of sensation, and the second part to *Analytic* or the analysis of understanding, showing how these two faculties combine in the production of knowledge. Hence—

I. *Origin of sensation.*—In regard to the fundamental question of the origin of sensation, Kant has not expressed himself so explicitly as might have been desired. In his first edition he might be taken to mean that mind simply finds sensations in itself, and proceeds to deal with them, setting aside the question of their origin as unknowable (as Hume did before him and Mill afterwards). But if this had been his intention, his search for a theory of the world which would afford a basis of certainty for science, would have been in vain ; science could not be founded on a world of sensations regarding whose origin nothing could be known, and which seemed to come and go at random. (Hume had shown that.) Or he might have been taken to mean that mind is an absolute reality, evolving from within itself, or out of nothing, its world of experience. But then he would have had to carry back all individual minds into one absolute ego, as Fichte did afterwards. The second edition, however, makes such suppositions needless, indicating clearly enough what he understood to be the origin of sensation. His view, stated or implied, may be expressed thus—

Sensation is a passive state of consciousness so far as anything mental can be passive; that is, it is a consciousness of being affected by something which is other than the self which is affected. What then is that by which the self is affected when it has sensation. The ready answer is: by external things. Yes, but what is implied in this? How can anything external (*i.e.*, at a distance in space) affect the mental principle? What kind of affection can it be? Is mind a sort of elastic or plastic substance which can be pushed, pressed or stamped on? All the old difficulties of mind and body recur here? Such explanations are all useless. Kant goes to the root of the question, and answers it in this way. The mental principle is finite. This means that it derives its being from what is infinite and absolute. This again means that it is made to be finite and thereby limited in all its being by what is absolute, and all the things which are supposed to affect the mind from without, are but so many channels through which it is limited, and thereby affected, by the infinite power in making it to be a finite being. But it asserts its own reality as a finite being by reacting on the limiting power. And it is in this reaction that consciousness begins; and, being a feeling of being limited or affected, this consciousness takes the form of sensation. In other words by its reaction on the limitation of the infinite, the mental principle transforms that limitation into the material of its own thought and knowledge and life as a finite being, which is sensation.

Sensation therefore is the self's consciousness of its own *finitude,* and it is in this experience of being limited and affected that consciousness appears. It consists fundamentally in discriminating between itself and an influence which is not itself. It is in this consciousness, therefore, of being affected by what is not itself that the whole of our knowledge is implicitly contained. All knowledge to be real or possible must be such as can come to us in this way from the ultimate reality or being in itself, *i.e.*, through this consciousness of being limited by reality, *i.e.*, through sensation. What cannot be derived from this source must be rejected as fancy.

(Some thought that Kant was guilty of a paralogism here. In explaining sensation he makes the absolute power act *causally* in the self and the self to react causally on the absolute. But he afterwards makes causality to be a relation only of finite things within the limits of experience, and to have no application to ultimate realities such as self and absolute. But this is a misunderstanding. To Kant, causality is the transference of motion from one thing to another through space, producing impact and change of position in space. But the ultimate influence of the infinite on the finite which is the ultimate source of limitation and sensation, has nothing to do with motion of things in space nor change of positions—the infinite is not at a *distance* from the finite, and cannot be supposed to act on the finite as one finite thing does on another. Therefore Kant was not guilty of any fallacy here.)

The great question then comes to be: how from this primitive feeling of being affected, is our knowledge of the world elicited with all its details? And we have to consider first—

The common opinion as to the origin of knowledge.—Popular opinion and science undertakes to settle the origin of knowledge dogmatically. It assumes at once that, outside of us, there is a world of material things, having existence in themselves independent of mind; and that these things make their existence known to the finite mind by striking against it as one material object strikes against another, and stamping impressions upon it, which it feels as sensations; and from these sensations it infers the existence, qualities and relations of the things. But are the processes of cognition here assumed consistent with the real conditions and possibilities of knowledge? No.

In the first place, sensations are in the mind; they are not things locally external to it. The influence of the infinite does not strike against the thinking principle from the outside, as one finite thing strikes against another. Nevertheless material things must be conceived as separated from the self and one another in space, as moving through space, and occupying portions of space so as to resist one another. Their fundamental properties are extension and solidity in space. And the common conception of the world is based on the popular conception of space as *a self-existent reality*. Is this view tenable?

The problem of space: the common opinion untenable.— Therefore in trying to know how we arrived at our knowledge of an external world, is to explain how we come to know the meaning and existence of space.

The common opinion is that space is an independent and absolute reality—a something existing of itself eternally, in which all other things are contained as in a reservoir, and which would exist all the same were there no things to exist in it and move through it, and no mind to perceive it; and that we perceive things to have distance from ourselves and one another in space. This is what is meant by the objectivity or absolute reality of space; and on it the common conception of the world is based. But there are difficulties connected with this view. If space is a self-existent thing, out of all connection with the origin, nature and functions of mind, it is impossible to understand how we should ever come to know or think of such a thing. It would be outside the sphere of possible knowledge. All knowledge is contained in sensation, but in this view space could not be given in any possible sensation. And Kant presents various experimental reasons for rejecting the absolute reality of space. Thus we think that we first perceive things as existing external to ourselves and to one another, and thus begin to perceive space as an independent reality in which things are situated, and which makes them to be external to us and to one another. But this, Kant argues, is an inversion of the true logical order of perception. We do not first perceive a thing to be a thing, and then learn from this that it is in space. We cannot think of it as a thing without already thinking of it as filling a portion of space. That is, we must have the notion of space before we can know a thing to be a thing. Space is antecedent to thing, not subsequent. Again we must think of a thing as composed of many parts. But we cannot do this without thinking it against a background of space as something which is itself indivisible but makes division of things into parts possible. Space therefore is not a thing but a form which we must impose on things in order to think them.

It is a necessary element of concrete thought.—Hence after reflection on this subject for several years Kant came to the conclusion that space is not a self-existent thing apart from all mind, but is a function of finite mind itself, standing in organic connection with its other functions and contained in the nature of thinking itself. Thinking is concrete and abstract. Concrete thinking consists in forming representations of things in terms of sensations (*vorstellungen*), chiefly vision and touch. It becomes abstract by abstracting from these representations of things, notions of their qualities and relations. Concrete thinking therefore consists in forming mental pictures or representations of things as having distance, positions and dimensions in space. Concrete thinking therefore is based on the notion of space. But the material of which extended things are composed is sensation merely. We think the magnitude, distance and extension of things in terms of sensation. It seems then that sensation and spatiality are involved each in the other. To have a sensation is to think of something extended and to think of extension is to have some sensation of touch, vision or movement. Hence—

Its real origin.—It appears then that the mental principle in receiving influence from the absolute and transforming it into conscious sensation, imposes on it the form of spatiality as a condition of thinkableness. That is, it conceives it as a plurality of things existing outside of the mind and of one another. The not-selfness inherent in the influence of the absolute and felt in sensation, is transformed (so to speak) into, or interpreted as, forces of external things causing sensations of different kinds; and what was unthinkable to finite mind is made to be materials which the mind can build up into a world of representations which it can think and understand. And this transformation of the unthinkable into the thinkable is the work of the finite mind itself in its effort to think and understand itself and its position in the world. In short, the thinking principle in its effort to think transforms the unthinkable influence of the absolute into conscious sensation, and imposes on sensation the form of spatiality, and thereby makes it to be the basis of a world of conscious experience.

Hence the ideality of space.—This then is the doctrine of ideality or subjectivity of space as but a form imposed by finite mind itself on the materials of thought in order to think them. Space is not anything existing apart from mind but a condition of concrete thought inherent in the nature of thought itself.

The bearing of this on science.—This view of space supplies an answer to the question which, more than any other, perhaps, made Kant set out on his long voyage of intellectual exploration—the question how universal and necessary truths are possible. Mathematics and indeed all science is founded on the idea of space. If space is a thing outside of us, what is true of it in one place and time may not be true in another. But if all finite thinking begin as concrete representation of things as existing in space, then space must be a necessary form contained in the nature of thinking itself. It must therefore be the same for all finite thinking, and what is true of it in one place (*e.g.*, the axioms of mathematics) will be universally true.

The meaning of time.—But space is not the only antecedent condition required for the making of a knowable world. Space by itself tends to make us think of things as co-existing eternally without change. But the possibilities even of a finite world cannot be all compressed into a plurality of synchronous positions in space, that is, into a world of one dimension (so to speak). Thought requires plurality in another dimension, *viz.*, that of succession and change. But if change were introduced in this way, *viz.*, if new things were merely to spring into existence and disappear again, they would form no part of our world and could not enter into our thought at all. We must think of change; but in so doing we must think of one change as rising out of another change and that out of another, and so on continuously, without any gap or intrusion of nothingness anywhere. Thus the world goes on changing perpetually, but at the same time remains perpetually the same. To understand this, we have to think of an external and independent reality which flows on continuously without ever being exhausted, and against which as a background all changes of things are seen. This is *time.* We do not really experience such continuity anywhere outside of our own thought—not in the external world nor even in our own minds—there are gaps everywhere in experience, but we view them against the background of time, and the continuity of time makes us fill up the blanks in our experience and think of the flow of change as continuous like that of time.

Now this notion of time as something ever flowing on and never exhausted is certainly not abstracted from experience as commonly believed because it is not to be found in experience as it really is, and because it must be present to us before we can have experience. In other words, like space it goes to the making of experience, and is contained in the process by which experience is made. In other words, the same power which transforms the influence of the absolute into sensations, and imposes on sensations the possibility of being synchronous in space, imposes, at the same time, the possibility of being successive in time, so that nothing new can enter into the field of experience except by rising continuously out of other things. The same power which makes sensation to be sensation makes it to be a plurality of kinds synchronous in space and successive in time.

Mental origin of space and time.—Space and time therefore are not things learnt from experience and therefore subsequent to it, but go to the making of experience and are therefore logically antecedent to it. They belong to that fundamental process by which the mental principle asserts its own individual reality by transforming the influence of not-self into sensations, and projects sensation (so to speak) into a world of mental representations, conceived as external and independent things, which it can consciously perceive and understand.

II. *Hence the problem of understanding.*—Sensation therefore is the finite mind's consciousness of the limitation imposed upon it by the infinite reality from which it derives its limited and therefore finite being; and in this fundamental consciousness of limitation, all the materials of its knowledge is implicitly contained. From this point, therefore knowing will consist in interpretation of what is contained or implied in sensation. This interpretation like sensation itself will be subject to the forms and conditions inherent in the nature of finite thought. It will be a translation into finite representation of what comes, through sense of limitation, from the infinite, which as it really is, is beyond the reach of finite thought. This process of interpretation is the subject of the second part of the *Critique* of Knowledge, called *Analytic* or logic—analysis of the principal constituents of understanding with inquiry into their origin and authority.

The finite principle distinguishes itself from the infinite and affirms its own individual reality by reacting on the influence of the infinite, and in so doing transforms the influence of the infinite into material of consciousness, *viz.*, sensation or feeling of being acted on, and translate the not-selfness inherent in foreign influence and therefore in sensation, into the forms of plurality and externality in space and time. But sensations are not themselves things. How then from sensations do we arrive at things?

From sensation to thing: *the categories.*—In *Æsthetic* it had been shown that the materials of knowledge are given in the influence of the infinite on the finite. That influence is in itself unthinkable by finite thought, and has to be translated into a form in which it will be thinkable. This transformation begins with the reaction of the finite mind which transforms the influence of the absolute into sensation and invests sensation with plurality and externality in space and time. But sensations even as plural and external are not a world. For that, the interpretation of understanding is required; which will enable the mind to think of a world of things and events existing externally and independently in space and time.

1. *Plurality.*—Finite mind can think only by discrimination and comparison, and therefore requires a plurality of objects (as implied in space). But a plurality of absolute and unconnected units would be unthinkable. Therefore thought requires unity also, and hence plurality in unity and unity in plurality. And this is Kant's first condition of understanding.

It may seem too difficult to think, as Kant does, that plurality is a form limited to the world of finite experience and foreign to the nature of the absolute itself. But Kant is thinking of plurality as it enters into experience—where it means separation in space and time, motion, resistance and impact. We can understand that in the absolute there may be plurality in a different sense, *e.g.*, a plurality of reasons and ideas, which are not outside but in one another.

2. *Substantiality.*—In thinking sensation as external in space to the self and to one another, mind must think of them as things occupying space and preserving their existence against one another and against the self which thinks them. That is, it invests them with the form of *substances* possessing attributes or powers by which they resist other things and thereby preserve their own existence in place and time. In this way a world of sensations comes to appeal in experience as a world of independent things having substantial existence of its own. This then is the world of nature. It is really our own sensations, substantiated by law of thought. What we call things are things substantialised not by force of anything in the things themselves as such, but by force of the mental power behind them, while that again has its ultimate source in the absolute.

3. *Causality.*—But substantiality consists in possessing attributes, and attributes consist in resisting and reacting on other things and thereby producing changes in the relative positions of things. Things therefore will be undergoing continual changes in time. But we cannot think of changed things as new things springing into existence out of nothing. We apply our notion of time, and think of every change as arising out of antecedent change, *viz.*, as a transference of motion or force from one thing to another while the underlying substance remains essentially the same. This idea of motion passing from one thing into another thing and making change without any increase or decrease of substance is the idea of *causality* which secures the unity and identity of the world under the dimension of succession, as space does in the dimension of co-existence.

Thus these forms of *plurality*, *substantiality* and *causality* (with their various correlatives) are (after sensation) the fundamental conditions which go to the making of a world of finite representations (which Kant calls phenomena). The thinking principle cannot find them outside of itself, but only within itself as part of its own equipment as a finite thinking power; and this is simply because, if it did not supply them from within itself, there would be no outside world from which to derive them. They are logically the first. Hence—

New theory of the world.—Thus the thinking principle feeling its sensations to be due to influences from what is not itself, and what is in itself unintelligible, interprets them by conceiving them as a world of things existing outside of itself, and acting on one another and on itself in place and time. The existence of this world, therefore, is due to the influence of the absolute on the finite self, in making it to be finite. This transformation has been performed by the self sub-consciously in the same effort by which it asserts its own individual reality; and the influence of the not-self seems now to come to it from an external world, thus evolved in representation by itself subconsciously.

And the world of conscious experience thus evolved forms a closed system into which nothing can enter except through the portal of sensation and in conformity with the conditions of finite thought. And "the whole quire of heaven and furniture of the earth," so far as known to us, is thus built up by finite mind in accordance with the conditions of finite thought but subject to the influence of a power and unthinkable.

Is this then equivalent to reducing the world to an illusion? Some called Kant a *welt-zermalmer*, one who broke the world to pieces. "This flowery rock-built earth with its rivers, rocks and sounding seas as it appears to us," has no existence outside of the finite mind to which it appears. As the spirit in Faust complains:—

> "Woe! woe!
> Thou hast destroyed it, the beautiful world;
> Its beauty has perished beyond restoring."

Yet though finite mind shapes (*schafft*, shapes, makes) the world for itself to the requirement of finite thought, it does not create it (out of nothing). It makes it out of the influence which it receives from the absolute reality, apart from the question of what may be added by the free will of the individual. What the finite thinking principle does is to translate that influence, in itself unthinkable, into the form that can be thought—the whole system of co-existent things and successive events have their ground and reason in the infinite reality which in itself is beyond the reach of finite thought. The world of nature is not therefore a self-existent thing, going on by perpetual motion contained within itself; it has passed through mind, and its forms are the forms required by mind; but it is subject in all parts to law which is none the less uniform that it is law of mind, and is to us as real practically as if self-existent.

One thing surprises us in this idealistic system of Kant. The world as it appears to experience exists only for man but man seems to exist for no end or purpose at all, unless it be as a logical machine. One may think that among his necessary forms of thought to which nature must conform, Kant should have found a place for purpose. Philosophy is useless which does nothing to guide human life by finding in it some purpose and meaning. He had derived his forms from what is implied in the normal propositional form of expression (A is x), and there he did not find any implication of purpose (though he might have done so in causality). But we shall find that he does something to supply the want in another way.

B

That the world cannot be what it is commonly assumed to be.

The above is the positive side of the conclusion reached by Kant—that the world is not a thing standing by itself, but an interpretative construction made by the finite mind itself in order to think and understand what would otherwise be unthinkable. The second part of the *Critique* of *Knowledge* is called *Dialectic* and consists in justifying this first result by showing that the prevailing view of the world held by common opinion and generally accepted by science is full of contradiction and cannot correspond therefore to knowable and thinkable reality, and full of gaps and blanks which cannot be filled up by thought.

1. Thus common opinion explained mental phenomena by ascribing them to many individual realities called *souls.* Soul was a particular kind of substance which was distinguished from the material substance of nature partly by this, that it was not a solid space-filling thing occupying and resisting movement through a portion of space. Nevertheless it was capable of moving through and having position in space, and of importing movement to extended bodies and therefore of resisting moving things. And it differed further from extended substance in this, that it possessed consciousness and power of *knowing* the positions and qualities and understanding the movements and relations of extended things, and the laws of their movements and future combinations. In other words, in mind popular opinion does not stop at ascribing substantiality and causality and power of giving and receiving impact, to what is not itself, but turns round and ascribes these properties to itself, and thinks of itself as a thing among things, giving and receiving impact (impressions) and acting and reacting on physical things in space as they do on one another. In other words, it makes that which thinks

and knows, to be a thing of the same kind or on the same level with the things which it knows. That which makes things, is made to be itself a thing like those which it makes. There must be something wrong, Kant thinks, here. This conception of soul therefore is full of paralogisms—the principle which thinks all other things must be explained in some other way than that by which it explains to itself the things which it thinks, and which are thus far of its own making.

2. Popular opinion conceives the world of nature as composed of particles of solid space-filling substance, possessed of perpetual motion, striking against and supplanting one another from positions in space and, by perpetual collisions and repulsions, becoming more dissipated through space or forming themselves fortuitously into systems in moving equilibrium, which again, by fortuitous combinations form themselves into one complete self-subsistent world, which will go on of itself eternally. But it follows from the condition of knowledge that such a world, existing apart from mind and having no common ground and reason with mind, would be outside the conditions of possible knowledge—it would be unknown and unknowable, and to us, nothing at all.

But apart from the question of the knowableness of such a self-subsistent world-whole, we find that it is impossible to fix down the conception itself to any one exact meaning. When we consider it from the four different points of view supposed in every affirmation (which Kant calls the quantity, quality, relation and modality of the object judged), we find that the world-whole thus conceived might have either of two different and opposite forms, each of which would have just as much right to be the real world as the other which makes it impossible to decide as to which of these eight possible worlds, is the real one. Such contradictory possibilities (called *antinomies*) involved in the popular conception, show that it is internally unsound, and must be set aside.

3. As the physical world and the soul have no connection in their own natures, a third reality must be assumed, to give them the connection and relation ascribed to them, *e.g.*, to make the world known to man and subject to human influences and to make human mind subject to the forces of the world.

This third reality therefore will be God, the Creator. Creation will consist in bringing into being and giving independent and quasi-absolute existence to nature and finite mind. Nature may be said to have independent existence in the sense that its elements are invested with perpetual motion and power to go on perpetually, in conformity with laws contained within itself, without further interference from the creator. Man is independent in the sense that he is endowed with the power of making new and absolute beginnings by exercise of free will, whether in accordance with or in opposition to the original volition of the creator.

The third power itself therefore will be the absolute in the full sense of the word, or that which has all existence in itself and from which all derivative existence proceeds. That ultimate reality will be infinite in the sense that there can be nothing outside to limit or affect it. It will be absolute and self-sufficient in the sense that it will *need* nothing not contained in its own nature.

It may be objected to this way of thinking that it removes God so far out of all connection with the world that there may seem to be no reason why there should be a world at all outside of God. Or it may be held to follow that as God the absolute must contain within himself 'all that he' needs, he must contain within himself the world also (Spinoza). And such remoteness of God from the world makes it difficult to understand how God can act on the world otherwise than by magic, or influence where there is no connection.

Of the arguments commonly used to confirm the above conception of God, some point to a rather different conception (*e.g.*, the ontological and cosmological) and to a closer connection between God and the world than the general conception seems to recognise. The favourite and most relevant of them, *viz.*, the teleological, may be accused of assuming that God, the absolute being, has *wants* like a finite being, and has created a world external to himself to supply his wants, and that he acts on the substance of the world as the finite artificer acts on clay, stone and iron, shaping it to suit his needs. Against this Kant lays down the general principle that things within the world cannot act on one another (*e.g.*, mind on matter) in the same way as the ultimate ground of the world acts, because everything in the world is subject to the conditions of space and time and finite thought and needs There can be no real analogy, therefore, between the relation of God and the world and that of finite beings among themselves; and no such analogies can be accepted as explaining the relation of God and world. Therefore the teleological argument and the "great artificer" view of God cannot be accepted in their popular form.

The conclusion of Kant's dialectic therefore is that the common conception of soul, matter and God and their relations are full of contradiction and inconsistent with the true conditions of knowledge, and need to be entirely transformed and renovated.

Thus Kant's first Critique deals with the nature of knowledge and, granting that knowledge of the world is possible, shows what the world must be that knowledge of it may be possible and rejects that view which makes knowledge impossible. He devotes two minor critiques to showing how this theory of knowledge and the world must affect our judgments (1) with regard to the external world or nature and (2) with regard to the life and conduct of human beings in the world thus known. Hence—

C

How we are to judge what is good in the world as known to us.

'Thus the world of nature as it appears to experience has passed through finite mind, and has received (impressed on it by finite mind in its striving to think) the conditions and forms which are essential to finite consciousness and understanding, and appears to experience as a world of independently existent things in space and time. It is the thinking principle itself that has given it this form; but it has done so subject to the influence of reality other than itself, and the spontaneous impulse to think and understand and thereby to work, which is the essence of its own finite self. It appears therefore as a world of substantial things external to ourselves, and the sensations which these occasion in us appear to us as qualities inherent in the things which occasion them. To be sure, the influences which affect us from without, proceed ultimately from the reality which manifests itself in this world of experience, but we ascribe it to the things through which it comes to us directly, and think of things as causing sensations in us, and pleasurable and painful feelings.

Being thus affected pleasurably or otherwise by everything in nature, we judge things as good or not good, or as having value to us positively or negatively. Hence Kant has devoted a Critique to the grounds on which we judge of the values of things in nature.

The world of nature in the midst of which we live is constantly affecting us and causing feelings in us. Feelings are either pleasurable or painful. Painful feeling is generally speaking (in spite of many apparent exceptions) an index of something which disorders and impairs the working of the vital system—pleasurable feeling is generally a consequence of something which stimulates and promotes the healthy working of the system, and thereby the well-being and continuance of physical life. Kant accepts this conclusion of Aristotle and Spinoza in a general way, without entering into the complex physiological and psychological details involved in the question of pleasure and pain. Therefore men generally attach value to what is itself pleasure-giving or tends to produce pleasure.

Now all effects in nature, pleasurable or painful, are produced by a continuous flow of causality (motion, force) from one thing to another without any interruption from outside the system or any increase or diminution of quantity. Hence the question which mainly concerns philosophy here is this. How are the many and complex currents of causality in nature so regulated and adapted as to produce effects which are pleasure-giving to men ? There are here evidently two possible answers!

(*a*) The forces of nature may produce such results accidentally in the course of their mechanical operations, and with total indifference to the consequences which follow from them. In this case the combination and co-ordination of forces required will have been due to chance, or mechanical necessity—their original determination will have had nothing to do with the effects produced—the beginning, nothing to do with the end. There will be no purpose, plan nor unity of system in the world. This is the mechanical view of nature.

(*b*) Or it may be that the power which originates the forces of nature, in so doing co-ordinates and adapts them in such a way, from the beginning, as to produce these particular results. In this case, the end or final result must have been present, in some sense, from the beginning, and must have determined the co-ordination of the forces; it must have been present, then, as *purpose, design, idea*. This is the theory of Final Cause (the *finis*, or end as the real cause) or Teleology.

Now in judging nature, finite mind will naturally judge the values of things according to their adaptation to meet the needs and wants of life as indicated by the feelings which they produce. Judged in this way, values will be of two kinds.

(1) A thing may produce pleasure directly and thereby have value in itself and for its own sake, and not as a means towards anything beyond itself. Things of this class are mostly pleasurable to individuals only, and are consumed in the using. It is otherwise with that special kind of value which is called the Beautiful, which requires special consideration.

The Beautiful has pleasure-giving quality in itself and on its own account, and is not valued merely as a means to something beyond itself; and is a source of pleasure not to individuals merely nor to different individuals at different times, but to all universally (who understand it); and is not consumed in the act of enjoyment but remains fresh through all time; and produces no fatigue or satiety in the enjoyment but remains always new. It is therefore an end in itself and for its own sake, and is of special interest philosophically as being the nearest analogy in finite experience to the absolute end (if such a thing be admitted)—to the Good of Plato, the Idea of Hegel.

But is it merely subjective, *i.e.*, does the mind merely happen to be so constituted as to be pleasurably affected by such things, though it might have been such as to dislike such things and find pleasure in their opposite? Or is it something in the nature of the things themselves which constrains all understanding minds to appreciate it? This is the more probable view because æsthetic analysis reveals the fact that all really beautiful things exhibit a co-ordination of parts such as to produce one beautiful whole while every part is at the same time beautiful in itself—the parts give beauty to the whole, and the whole to the parts. Such co-ordination of parts to whole is the ground of life and harmony in nature, and is found to be the secret of the beautiful. Is it then by accident merely, or is there some reason in nature itself for its attainment. Kant thinks that, as many beautiful things are undoubtedly produced by mechanical forces, it is still possible that the more complex forms also may be produced in the same way. The beautiful does not prove the existence of design in nature.

(2) A thing may be of value not because it is pleasure-giving in itself, but because it is necessary as a means towards something else which is of value, *i.e.*, it may be of value not as an *end* in itself but as a *means* to ends which will supply felt needs. Such utility in matters of human workmanship need not be considered here but utility in works of nature are of philosophical interest. How is it produced ? Of this adaptation of means to results in nature two kinds have to be distinguished :

(*a*) The adaptation may be accidental merely—produced by a coming-together of forces which cannot have had any connection with one another originally. Thus the sands of the sea-shore are favourable to the growth of pine forests. But we cannot suppose that any power in nature makes the sea cast up sands merely to produce pine trees. Nature supplies quartz, copper, iron and silver but we do not suppose that it does so merely that men might have materials for the making of clocks and watches. But there is another kind of adaptation which requires more consideration. But—

(*b*) There is another kind of adaptation which is not so easy to account for, *viz.*, that best seen in living organisms. An organism consists of millions of cells, hundreds of organs, and every cell is so adapted in form and function as to supply the needs of higher organs, and all are adapted to promote and support the life of the whole, and the whole reciprocally gives life and harmony to the organs and cells. And this result is produced not by a force acting from the outside and shaping these parts and putting them together ; but by a power which is in the things themselves and gathers and co-ordinates the materials and makes them produce these results from within. The adaptation of parts produces life, and life reacts on and vitalises the parts.

Now the great question is : can such complex adaptation of parts to wholes, producing such complex consequences, be produced by accidental combinations of forces working mechanically (as *e.g.*, crystals are produced) which is the mechanical theory? Or must the end have been present from the beginning as idea, and, by force of idea; have co-ordinated the forces for its own realisation? (idealism, purpose, design, final cause).

Finite beings in such cases cannot help applying the analogy of their own actions, and thinking of such adaptations as produced by purpose, design and will. But Kant still holds back from admission of purpose in nature. We cannot fathom the possibilities of mechanical production. Therefore the *Critique* of judgment leaves us without the assurance of any meaning or purpose in nature. But there is still another department of mind requiring critical investigation. There is still wanting a *Critique* of the *practical* function of reason, or that power by which men regulate their actions.

D

How we judge the actions of finite beings—the absolute in the finite.

Man's nature is not exhausted in thinking and feeling. In fact these are only auxiliary to a higher manifestation of the self, *viz.*, action.

The actions of men (so far as rational) are all teleological, *i.e.*, adapted for the attainment of ends or of means for their attainment. The ends sought are things held to be beneficial to life under the circumstances imposed by nature. As the same end may be found by experience to meet best the wants of whole classes of individuals, rules can be formed for the guidance of individuals towards such desirable ends. Thus systems of ethical rules may be formed, founded on experience of what is beneficial (empirical ethics). But such rules are only *maxims* or highest generalisations, prescribing what should be done under certain classes of circumstances. They are dealt with in ethics, the study of habits, manners and customs. They may be said to be *material* because they are adapted to the conditions which are imposed on men by material nature. They are therefore only contingent, depending on variable circumstances, and differing in different times and places. 'As they are imposed on men by the forces of nature, men in relation to them will be subject to *heteronymy*, or law imposed from without and by other things than self. He will thus far, therefore, be on a level with the creatures of nature to which he himself gives form and relation. But a being who interprets the influence of the absolute, and gives to nature the form adapted to its own understanding, must be above nature and its forces. He belongs not so much to the passive products of nature as to the active producing power which is in behind nature. His relation to the absolute creative power is manifested in his reason.

We must then consider what reason is according to Kant. We can understand it best by contrast with understanding. Understanding is the mental power applied to discriminating and resolving things into parts and individuals, rising by generalisation from individuals to classes, and from particular facts to general truths—in short the faculty of analysis and induction. Reason on the contrary (as intellect merely) is the power of grasping things as wholes and viewing the parts from the standpoint of the whole, and thereby discerning their inner relations to the whole, and thereby to one another. Or, metaphysically considered, it is the power by which the whole rises above the parts, and controls them for its own purpose. Or, in other words, it is the essence or purpose rising above and determining the individual details in which it realises itself. It is, in short, the unity of intellection and volition—the idea rising into being an active power.

Now the will, the essential self which, in sensation and understanding, has transformed unthinkable reality into a world of conscious experience intelligible to finite minds, now raises itself above the influences which come to it from the finite things of experience, and asserts its own independence; and turning back on the finite details of life, overrules the material maxims of experience and makes them subject to one universal law of its own. Such a law therefore will be self-imposed, and in imposing it the self will be *autonomous.* It will be the power of the whole over the parts, of the essence over the details, of the absolute over the relative.

Therefore this self-imposed moral law will not be the law of the individual merely. It is imposed by the common reason which is in all individuals and which comes to an apex in the moral law. It is the voice of the *one* which is in the *many.* It may be imperfectly expressed in the formula: In all action, let every individual act in such a way that the principle (rule) according to which he acts may be accepted as a rule of action by all rational creatures. This will be the "categorical imperative" of reason—of the one in the many, of the whole in the parts, the essence in its applications.

And the recognition and acceptance of this principle of self-control which unites all individuals in a higher One, will be the highest perfection of finite beings, the end for which they exist, and the apex of their development, and is called Virtue.

To be sure, this formula is only an abstraction. It will be the work of moral science to bring it down to the concrete affections of life, and apply it to justify or modify the above empirical maxims of expediency, and reduce life to a rational system (in which it will have the assistance of religion), and it will lead to important corollaries. Being the highest end for which human being exist, nature means it to be attained. But its attainment can proceed only by degrees and can never be completed in time. For life consists in action—in striving towards a good, and if the good were completely exhausted, there would be no further motive for action, and life would cease. Therefore it implies *everlasting existence.* It implies also the attainment of that well-being or happiness at which all action aims as its ultimate end. But this result does not follow from the nature of virtue itself. The law implies therefore a power above nature which will be *God.* The moral law therefore leads us to conclusions which experience and science cannot attain, and negatives, in some respects, the conclusions of Dialectic, *viz.*, by showing that things which are inconsistent with the commonly accepted theory of the world, are nevertheless real, so that their explanation must be sought for in another and more adequate theory (the problem which Kant left to his successors).

But an objection may be raised here. Is not such autonomous self-control equivalent to Free Will, and is not Free Will excluded by the law of Causality? That law shows, according to Kant himself, that every change, in the world of experience rises out of an antecedent change so that nothing new can enter into the closed system of causes and effects. But here the self is held to determine its actions from within itself, uninfluenced by the flow of causality in nature. Does not Kant here contradict himself? No, he has had this in view from the beginning. He has shown that the series of causes and effects which, phenomenally, seem to be a plurality in time and space, are but the unfolding in time of an act of determination in the absolute beyond time and space. Even so, the series of acts in which finite life manifests itself is the unfolding of that fundamental act of free self-determination by which the mental principle differentiates itself from the ultimate reality and makes itself to be an autonomous individual self. Its active life is but the unfolding into the plurality of space and time, of that fundamental life which is above time. Therefore life is fundamentally autonomous from beginning to end. It may appear, however, that, to justify this theory, it would be necessary to show how this autonomous human causality comes to co-operate and harmonise with other forms of causality in nature, and this would require an elaborate metaphysic of the absolute which Kant declined to undertake (and left to Fichte).

Reason being thus supreme in human life as the absolute in the finite, it follows that only a subordinate place will be left for religion, though an important one. The categorical imperative, being abstract and general, requires to be applied to the practical affairs of life. The treatise "Religion within the bounds of reason merely," shows that religion (when relieved of mythological accretions) has consisted essentially in attempts to deduce rules of life from, and apply practically, the universal law of reason, present, sub-consciously at least, in all national minds; and moral philosophers will do well to take into account the teaching and results of religious thought, which, after all, is reason working in the dark.

The supremacy of practical reason—the absolute revealing itself in the finite at the apex of human life—is the climax of Kant's philosophy. And on reaching this height he becomes lyrical for once in his life; and not many passages in the highest poetry excel that in which he expresses his feeling on the subject: "Two things there are which, the oftener and more steadfastly I contemplate them, fill my mind with ever new and ever rising wonder and admiration—the starry heavens above and the moral law within. The one departs from my point in space and expands externally beyond the bounds of imagination, the connection of my body with worlds beyond worlds, but overpowers me with a feeling of my own insignificance, as an animal product which, after a brief and incomprehensible endowment with life, must refund its materials to the planet on which it grew. The other opens up to my inner vision, and reveals me as a member of a world which is indeed infinite, but not subject to the forms of time and space, nor capable of representation in terms of sense experience, and elevates my worth as an end in myself even without limit, revealing to me a power of life; independent of this animal world,—nay, of the material world itself. It shows the self-regulation of my life to be the highest perfection of my being, and moral worth to be the highest end of my activity. It appears to me with the force of one imperative which allows no compromise with the motives which spring from outer nature, and spurns, in its infinity, the conditions and boundaries of my present transitory being."

Thus Kant evidently regards the supremacy of practical reason—the unity of intellect and will—as the highest result of his long voyage of exploration, and regards it as giving a glimpse into the absolute itself, and as opening up there, a world of undiscovered truth. But he viewed this new world of metaphysic reality only as Moses viewed the promised land from the top of Pisgah, and left its exploration (if it were at all possible) to his successors.

In fact his fear of metaphysic has made him leave his system obviously defective in respect of unity and connection. Do all its different parts hang together? For example, does the autonomy of self follow by continuous deduction from the criticism of knowledge! Some have said, no. Thus the cry "back to Kant," which was heard during the revival of scepticism in the later half of last century, had, for its chief result, F. Lange's *History of Materialism* in which that thinker followed Kant in reducing matter to mental representation, but rejected Kant's conclusions as to the supremacy of reason and moral law and its corollaries. But if the conclusion of the *practical reason* be rejected, Kant will be found not to have carried us much farther than the other philosophies of the "Unknown and Unknowable" which sprang up in the second half of the century like mushrooms in a warm night (Comte, Lewes, Mill, Spencer, Lange, etc.). These were founded on the rejection of what was called metaphysic. And that was founded practically on the old theory of two worlds—a knowable and an unknowable. Science deals with the knowable world and must therefore be accepted. But metaphysic deals with the unknowable one, and must therefore be rejected. But this way of thinking was founded on an oversight. If the known world rise out of the one called unknown, then it will not be unknowable nor unknown; if it do not, then the unknowable world will be a groundless assumption—there will be no means of knowing its existence. But if it be admitted that there is but one world, in which all things exist in correlation, then metaphysic will have a new meaning. It will come to be founded on Kant's own method of critical analysis. But Kant's own dealing with metaphysical questions is summary and insufficient.

He has not made his escape definitely from the old theory of two worlds, the one known, and the other unknowable. His system comes in contact with the absolute, in three places especially—theory of sensation, that of causality and that of autonomy of reason—and the frequent appeals which he makes, from the phenomenon or thing as it is in our minds (representation) to the "thing as it is in itself" (in the absolute), he seems always to be thinking of a world which has no essential connection with ours; but in which everything in our world has its counterpart, and which belongs to metaphysic so that about it as little should be said as possible. This suspicion of metaphysic has made him leave his system without such a groundwork as would give connection and consistency to all its parts. This work was left to his successor Fichte. Hence though Kant has influenced thought to a vast degree, no one can remain exactly where Kant stood—he is impelled to go on to his successors. Kant's moral theory and defective metaphysic make him go on to Fichte; his view of nature and the beautiful leads on to Schelling; and all these, together with his dialectical reasoning but imperfect conception of the absolute, lead on to Hegel.

Many will object also to the subjectivity of the world of nature in Kant's system—its existence only in finite representation. The sight of the starry heavens may well fill the mind with wonder and admiration as Kant says, but if one reflects that this starry frame has no existence as such outside of his own mind, and vanishes when he ceases to think of it, this reflection may damp his enthusiasm. Malebranche and Berkeley were subjective idealists but yet they gave some standing to the world by making things have ideal existence in the mind of God when men are not thinking of them. To say with Kant that the world of representation is governed by uniform law, and thereby as fixed as if it had absolute existence, or that everything in it corresponds to something unthinkable in an unknowable world, does not comfort the æsthetic mind. "He has destroyed it—the beautiful world!" Schelling was needed to rehabilitate nature, and give it a new standing and meaning.

Another deficiency, perhaps, is the absence of any clear idea of development. It may be true that space, time, substantiality and causality are inherent in the nature of thinking itself,—Kant has gone far to prove it. But he makes it appear, it may be said, that power of thinking with all its forms sprang into existence all at once, as the goddess of wisdom and war was said to have sprung all at once from the brain of Jupiter—full grown and armed with shield, helmet and spear—"a goddess armed." We know on the contrary that a long time passes before the forms of thought are all elicited and co-ordinated. Nevertheless, Kant may be excused for this. We must know what a thing is, before we can know how it came to be what it is. Thus the attempts to explain the evolution of life, will remain largely abortive until a better understanding is acquired, of what life itself is.

Must we conclude then that Kant's philosophy is only a variation on the familiar and unprofitable philosophy of "the unknown and unknowable"? No; though incomplete it goes far beyond that.

Thus he shifted the starting point of thought. Hitherto matter and the material world had usually been accepted as the one thing certain, and the only secure basis on which to build. We must assume as self-evident fact that the material world is known as it really is, and derive from that whatever else is knowable. Kant exposed the paralogism underlying the naturalistic philosophies, and showed that the conditions and possibilities of knowledge must be sought in that which thinks and the process of thinking, and exposed the fallacy of assuming that things are known as such and such, without first making it clear how we know them (criticism against dogmatism). And he opened up to thought new aspects of reality which are not to be disposed of by being referred to another world which could not be known even to exist, but which are in vital connection with our own life and thought. He introduced ways of thinking and reasoning much more "scientific" and exact than had been practised before (with some partial exceptions, as Aristotle and Spinoza).

In short, he laid the foundations of a new philosophy, opening up a new world of thought beyond that which he himself had entered on. If he left his work in many points incomplete, he himself indicated clearly to his successors the ways to complete it. Hence Kant's work was soon taken up and carried farther by Fichte whose Doctrine of Knowledge supplied the metaphysical groundwork needed to give closer connection to the various conclusions of Kant himself; and was brought into closer connections with the facts of nature by the experiments in intellectual world-building, of Schelling; and was brought near to completion by Hegel in whose work philosophy as "reasoned thought," may be said to have reached the highest culmination hitherto attained.

HENRY STEPHEN

EVOLUTION OF STATE CONCEPT IN ANCIENT INDIA

III

The State in Kauṭilya.

Next to the Epic, we pass on to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, which throws a flood of light on the political ideas of the immediately succeeding period. This Arthaśāstra which is probably the last of many such books, is one of the earliest systematised treatises on the Art of Government and represents the high-watermark of a materialistic counter-reaction to the spiritual propaganda of the preceding age. In Kauṭilya we meet not only with a dominance of Ethico-Political ideas, but notice a decided tendency towards the emancipation of politics from the influence of Ethics.

But there is a lack of definition and an utter absence of abstract speculation as to the nature of the State. Only in one or two places Kauṭilya gives us a clue as to his views. This may be due to the fact that the Arthaśāstra is a practical treatise on the art of Government written with the express object of establishing a paramount ruling authority, capable of protecting the people and helping them in attaining prosperity. Such being the case we can expect but little of theories or abstract ideas. His ideas were mainly of a practical statesman. Consequently, nowhere does Kauṭilya define the State, nor does he dwell on its character. Incidentally, however, he gives us a lot of information as to its constituent elements and its real ends. It is only in connection with these that we have occasionally glimpses into his views as to the State of Nature or the origin of the State.

Kautilyan Idea of the State.

He seems to lay stress on the human element of the State. Thus in one place he says—" The State after all consists of the people, without them the territory is as useless as a barren cow. **(पुरुषवद्धि राज्यं अपुरुषा गौ वंन्ध्येव किंदुहीत)**.—Arthasastra.

In another place in emphasising upon the duty of a conqueror to look to the interests of men settled in the conquered territory he says that a territory without subjects (bereft of good government) is neither a Janapada nor a kingdom. **(न ह्यजनो जनपदो राज्यं जनपदं वा भवतीति**.—Kau., p. 403.)

Thus Kauṭilya like his great contemporary Aristotle, regards the State primarily as an association of human groups and created mainly in their interests.

This association of individuals to form a State he attributes to man's social ideas, *e.g.*, preservation of life and property and to secure opportunities of progress. The state of nature he regarded as one of war (as in ch. 67 Santiparvan) dominated by Mātsya-nyāya or the tyranny of the strong over the weak. As he himself [1] describes in connection with Daṇḍa and in another place puts it into the mouth of one of his discoursing spy propagandists [2]—the people selected a king Manu to save themselves from Mātsya-nyāya.

After thus describing in brief that the State was primarily an association of human groups united together for protection, he goes on to devote his best attention to the consideration of the physical requisites, which are to serve as basis for a well ordered and prosperous state. Here in lies his excellence over most political thinkers. His views show, moreover, how much prominence he gives to economic and material considerations in conceiving the requisites of a State. According to him the territory must be capable of supporting the population, and enabling them to have room for expansion, capable of supporting the people of neighbouring regions in distress, endowed with rich or wealth, peopled by men hating the enemy, free from sterile, rocky soil, not abounding in ferocious animals, capable of maintaining large herds of cattle and other animals, containing mineral resources, pastures, capable of easily defending, having a free supply of water and not depending entirely on nature (rains), having excellent land and river communications productive of commodities, endowed with a labouring element and peopled by patriotic honest men :

---

[1] अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति। वलीयानवलं हि ग्रसते·दण्डधराभावे। तेन गुप्तः प्रभवतीति।

[2] मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूता प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानम् चक्रिरे। धान्यषड्भागं पण्यदशभागम् चास्य भागधेयं प्रकल्पयामासुः। तेन भृता राजानः प्रजानां योगक्षेमवहाः तेषां किल्विषम दण्डकरा हरन्ति योगक्षेमवहाश्च प्रजानाम्।—

Kau. Arthasastra, pp. 9 & 23 Mysore Text.

e.g., स्थानवान् आत्मधारणः परधारणश्चापदि स्वारक्षः स्वाजीवः, शत्रुद्वेषी शक्यसामन्तः पङ्कपाषाणोषरविषमकण्टकश्रेणीव्यालमृगाटवीहीनः, कान्तः सीताखनिद्रव्यहस्तिवनवान्, गव्यः पौरुषेयो गुप्तगोचरः पशुमान् अदेवमातृको वारिस्थलपथाभ्यामुपेतः सारचित्रबहुपण्या दण्डकरसहः कर्म्मशीलकर्षको वालिशस्वाम्यवरवर्णप्रायो भक्तशुचिमनुष्या———इतिजनपदसम्पत् ।

The Kautiliyan State is a Monarchical State.

Kauṭilya analyses the State (Janapada) like his predecessors the Epic thinkers into its seven elements, *e.g.,* Svāmī, amātya, Durga, Rāṣtra or (जनपद), Koṣa, Daṇda and Mitra.[1]

Of these again, he clearly distinguishes between the ruler, and the State (राजा राज्यं इति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः), *e.g.,* the governing element and the governed. But in spite of this seeming differentiation they appear to be identified with each other. They are inseparable. Their best interests and the chief aim of their existence seem to be the same. The king as the head of the Government is the supreme head of the state. He is the

[1] स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोषराष्ट्रदुर्गवलानि च प्रकृतयः सप्त ।

symbol of unity and legality. All authority emanates from him. It is he who directs the energies of the people to their proper channel.[1]

But though the king was conceived as being of the vital importance to the working and existence of the Government machinery he (king) in his turn depended on the prosperity of the elements.

अरिवर्जाः प्रकृतयः सप्तैताः सगुणोदयाः ।
उक्ताः प्रत्यङ्गभूतास्ताः प्रकृता राजसम्पदः ॥
सम्पादयति असम्पन्नाः प्रकृतिरात्मवान्नृपः ।
विवृद्धाश्चानुरक्ताश्च प्रकृतिर्हन्ति अनात्मवान् ॥

The two, the ruler and the State, are thus identified. The king is a necessity for the people but he exists for them and them only. His happiness lies in their prosperity.

Verily says the author :—

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितं ।
नात्मप्रियं हित राज्ञः प्रजानाम् च प्रियं हितम् ॥

So much for the unity of the ruler and the ruled in the State. Moreover, when we leave these theoretical considerations and go through the details of administrative measures and regulations we are bound to conclude that his State did not rest with mere police measures. Presumably it (State) was a paternal State, which tried to assist all the sections of the community in their self-realisation by active help. The agriculturists, the traders, the students all received the proper quota of help from the Government. We may, therefore, define that the Kauṭiliyan State was an institution for the well-being of the community and that its head, the king, was entrusted with the duty of helping his subjects in the fruition of their worldly aims.

---

[1] स्वामी च सम्पन्नः स्वसम्पद्भिः प्रकृतीः सम्पादयति । स्वयं यच्छीलस्तच्छीलाः प्रकृतयो भवन्ति । उत्थाने प्रमदे च तदायत्त त्वात् । तत्कूटस्थानीयो हि स्वामीति । This indeed is but an echo of the Epic idea that the moral and intellectual prosperity of subjects depended on the king and he created the age (कालोऽवा कारणं राज्ञो—राजा वा कालस्य कारणं इति ते संशयोमाऽभूत—राजा कालस्य कारणं ॥

This extreme devotion to the material welfare of the country and of the subjects made Kauṭilya sacrifice some of the moral and ethical principles which had gained ground in those days. These characteristics he shared along with his fore-runners—the previous authors of the Artha-Śāstras. But here, too, he shrank from the extreme consequences of such a policy. He recognised 'organic laws and principles' which existed prior to the establishment of royal authority and of the State. His disregard for moral considerations—(if any ?) stopped after a while. He would consent to the confiscation of the property of Pāṣaṇḍas or of wealthy widows. He would justify secret attacks on enemies—nay, he would, often following his predecessors, advocate assassination, but he will not go beyond that. He will not consent to the unrighteous usurpation of the throne by ministers, nor will he consent to the violation of the sacred institutions of property, family, and social distinctions or tampering with the sacred rules of Aryan morals and ethics.

As he himself says :—

तस्मात्स्वधर्मं हि भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत् ।
स्वधर्मं सन्दधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ।
व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः ।
त्रय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥

To speak in brief he limited the sphere of royal authority or of State interference in these matters.

The Kautiliyan system continued for sometime but under Aśoka there came a change. The Emperor after his conquest of Kalinga became penitent for his past cruelties and became according to a tradition the disciple of a Buddhist monk. It is doubtful whether Aśoka embraced Buddhism, but anyhow it is clear that he came under the influence of forces which implanted in his mind a tender regard for the moral elevation of his subjects and at the same time a hatred for conquests or a rule by the sword. As king he regarded himself responsible for the good of his subjects not only in this world but in that beyond. Moreover, he came to believe in a moral obligation which called upon him to emancipate himself from this indebtedness. Consequent upon these the state became something more than a material or an ethical state. It tended to become a theocracy in which the royal position too was something extra-political—something divine. 'Devanām Priya' 'Dear unto the Gods' stood apart in divine isolating. The monarch was no longer identified with the State or with the people. The imperial concept of duty too changed. No longer confined to the safety and protection of his subjects, its place was taken by something wider, something nobler and grander yet dreamy and incapable of realization—the propagation of Dhamma—and the realisation of the noble idea of Dhamma Vijaya. This became its keynote. (See R. E. XIII.) In truth, the centre of interest shifted. The sphere of royal activity was no longer confined to narrow limits but it passed all limits and corresponded with the whole world. The claims of world love (R. E. XIII) became predominant—the old paternal ideal too changed its character.

The Aśokan state thus came to be identified with an organisation for the universal moral propaganda—an agency not only for the preaching of universal brotherhood but also for the mental and moral elevation of mankind—a celestial dream in which the State lost itself.

The moral propaganda not only put a stop to progress but weakened the Mauryyan state, accompanied by social turmoil. India became weak. Foreign hordes poured into her soil and when after a time she succeeded in reorganising her forces and ideals she resuscitated the past but with modifications. The Aśokan propaganda had checked the tendency towards the separation of ethics and morality from politics and had thus averted the normal course of political evolution which would have culminated in the establishment of the secular State. Consequently, therefore, when there was an attempt at reconstruction, the State became associated more with a coercive authority which maintained order and enforced peace rather than an organisation, which devoted most of its energies to the material progress of humanity.

This is the chief characteristic of the State idea in the Dharmaśāstras beginning with the Manu-Samhitā. They all dwell upon the evils of anarchy. They all emphasise on the need of justice and the coercion of wrong-doers. The paternal ideal indeed subsists, but it is everywhere masked by the ideal of social and moral order. The head of the State also comes to be venerated as a God on earth.

After Kauṭilya we need not proceed further or discuss in detail. There is, indeed, a dearth of original speculation. The Kauṭiliyan concept marks the acme of Hindu political thought His ideas furnish keynotes to all subsequent authors, whether Smriti writers or writers on polity. Nītiśāstra writers like Kāmandaka, profess their gratitude to him (Ka., ch. 1 Introductory, Sec. 1). Smriti writers like Yājñavalkya seem to have borrowed many things from him and though occasionally romancers or moralists scoff at him, he is universally recognised as one supreme, so far as worldly wisdom is concerned. These later writers are indeed numerous, but with the exception of the author of the 'Śukra-Niti,' they show no originality, no novelty in speculation nor in their methods. With Kauṭilya the formative and speculative period of Hindu political genius ends. In fact, he was the last of a great race of men followed only by pigmies who had no claim for originality but submitted without reasoning and accepted without questioning.

Analysis of the State Concept.

Let us now proceed with the analysis of the State Concept and sum up the chief characteristics of the State as it was conceived in ancient India.

The Hindu political speculation with regard to the State was objective and a practical one; the trend of thought never carried it to that fine idealism as we find with the Great European thinkers. The primary idea in concerning a state was the desire to ensure the happiness of the individual and of society in general. In origin it was conceived as a voluntary association of individuals—with the express object of eliminating *violence or injustice*—those elements detrimental to man's safety and progress. All Indian accounts agree in attributing the origin of sovereignty or government to contract. Man dictated by instinct or natural law in order to ensure his personal safety must live in society; once society is established conventions are laid down guiding the conduct of men. For the observance of these is the necessity of a coercive power felt as being due to aberrations in human conduct, which owing to external influences of greed or error deviates from the inner reason, *e.g.*, the dictates of Dharma which is nothing but an objective reflection emanating from the Rita the primordial concept of moral order, and evolves the right line of conduct in the individual man. At one time this Dharma guided the actions of men, but as man became influenced by greed and vice, society was on the decay. To continue the normal working of the right principle was evolved the Daṇḍaniti the sum-total of rules which emanated from man's inner sense of right and wrong or good and evil. Later on came the machinery for enforcing its rules and thereby to regulate the conduct of all men. Daṇḍaniti or the law of punishments came to regulate human conduct by awarding punishment for violation of justice and by rewarding the virtuous. It thus became the external bond, which went to ensure the existence and progress of men in civil society. The right to award punishments was vested in the State which guided the external relation of men.

The basic idea in the concept of Daṇḍaniti (or regulated violence) was one of order and not of freedom as with the modern Western thinkers. The working of the law meant an opportunity to each member of the State by defining and safeguarding his relation to the whole. This concept of order, moreover, had an intimate relation with man's inner ideas, and had a fine psychological basis. Man's primary ideas have always been—those relating to his life and security and perfection—his ideas of justice, of charity—ideas common to men of all grades and ages.

The realisation of the order meant that the individual must have a free scope for the fruition of his ideas. This meant that his life must be guaranteed and at the same time opportunities must be furnished—so that he can bring his life to perfection.

In the words of Fichte "*to live and let live*" became the motto of the State. Hence the scope of state action became fully comprehensive, and it included all sorts of active help and encouragement to the industries and efforts of the individual by which he could maintain himself and could help himself. The regulation of the arts of life, agriculture, trade, commerce, all came within the sphere of State actions and this from a very early period. Such ideas are present even in the inaugural hymns of the Yajur Veda and we have practical illustrations of this in the Jātakas.

The State then became something more than mere police. Its chief aim was the realisation on the part of its members—all possible benefit as far as the material aspect of life was concerned. The normal working of the social organism came under its superintendence. Consequently, it was not confined to the bestowal of benefits on a particular class or a particular section. It came to embrace all sections of the community.

(*To be continued*)

NARAYANACHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA

ON HIROSHIGE'S FIREWORKS AT RYOGOKU

A Voice
To break the sky
(The voice prophetic, might I ever become that voice ?.
Then the flash,
(The light precious, of a moment and death, is it not that of our lives ?)
Only to make the darkness intense.
I hear from below the flowing shout of the children upon the waste of pain
Whose vagary here makes the night of joy,
On famous Ryogoku Bridge,
At tea-houses by the river whose heart echoes song and lanterns
In the thousand boats that now disappear.
I do know no way how to make my lone heart bright.
The flash of the firework ?—
It is that of my soul born to please the people below,
And to take sadness of death in her own keeping alone.

YONE NOGUCHI

SCOTTISH CHAUCERIAN POETS

III. GAVIN DOUGLAS

> " More pleased that in a barbarous age
> He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
> Than that beneath his rule he held
> The bishopric of fair Dunkeld."

Both Gavin Douglas and Sir David Lyndsay are introduced into *Marmion* with the disregard of historical accuracy that Scott is often guilty of in historical fiction. In *Marmion* Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, better known as Bell-the-Cat, calls his son Gavin a " boy bishop," when he is celebrating the marriage of Wilton and Clare just before the battle of Flodden in 1513. But at that date Gavin Douglas was neither a boy nor a bishop. It was not until 1515 that he became Bishop of Dunkeld. Nor was he a boy in 1513, for he matriculated at St. Andrews University in 1489 and took his degree as Master of Arts in 1494. So he must have been born about the year 1474 and was nearly forty years old when the battle of Flodden was fought. In 1496 he became Rector of Hauch near Dunbar and in 1501 Provost of St. Giles' Kirk in Edinburgh. In the latter year he finished his principal original poem, an allegory called the *Place of Honour*. While he was Provost of St. Giles, he wrote his translation of the twelve books of the *Æneid* with, as a thirteenth book, the sequel added to the Æneid by Mapheus Vegius, a fifteenth century Italian. The translation was provided with elaborate prologues to the different books, and the author tells us that he completed his arduous task in the short period of sixteen months, in the years 1512 and 1513. In 1513 came the catastrophe of Flodden and the death of James IV. This disaster probably paved the way for Gavin Douglas's further advancement in the church for many prelates were killed in the battle, and Queen Margaret within a twelve month of the beginning of her widowhood married his nephew, the young Earl of Angus, and with him for a time governed the country. By the Queen's influence he was nominated Abbot of Aberbrothock and Archbishop of St. Andrews.

But his nomination to these two high ecclesiastical offices was never confirmed. In 1515 he was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, and in this case the Queen, through the influence of her brother Henry VIII, obtained the Pope's sanction. But even so there was danger of armed conflict before he could be established in his See. In 1517 the Duke of Albany took him as his secretary when he went on an embassy to France. On his return to Scotland he devoted himself to his episcopal duties until 1521, when he and his nephew the Earl of Angus overcome by the opposite party had to retire to England. Here Douglas received a pension from Henry VIII and made the acquaintance of the Italian historian Polydore Vergil, who in his History of England refers to their intercourse as follows :—

"Of late one, Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, a Scottish man, a man as well noble in lineage as virtue, when he understood that I was purposed to write this history, he came to commune with me. * * * But I did not long enjoy the fruition of this my friend, for in the year of our Lord 1522 he died of the plague in London."

He was buried in the Savoy chapel. The brass tablet on the tomb which he shared with the Bishop of Leighlin still exists and describes him pathetically as *patria sui exul.* This indicates that he felt keenly as an exile his absence from his native land, although he does not ever, as his later successors in Scottish literature are so fond of doing, express his patriotic feelings in his poetry.

Little information about the character of Douglas can be derived from his writings. In his poems we only see that he was a lover of nature, of books, and a classical scholar. His knowledge of Latin is shown by his generally accurate translation of the *Æneid*, which he made at the suggestion of his cousin, Lord Sinclair. The fact that Lord Sinclair pressed him to translate Virgil *or Homer*, shows that he had a reputation not only as a Latin but also as a Greek scholar. In his extant letters he appears in the less pleasing character of a political intriguer. Douglas does not make the uproariously humorous references to passing events that enliven the poems of Dunbar. He was, however, by no means destitute of humour, for he gives us an amusing account of an imaginary interview with Mapheus Vegius, theauthor of the work translated as the thirteenth book of the *Æneid*. When the shade of Mapheus first asked that his work also might be translated, Douglas stoutly refused, saying that he had wasted too much time already on translating Virgil to the detriment of graver duties. Then Mapheus with a club gave him twenty heavy blows on his back and so enforced compliance with his wishes. There is a famous historic anecdote which shows that Bishop Douglas was quick to appreciate a comic situation. On one occasion he suspected Archbishop Beaton of hostile intentions against his party on behalf of the Earl of Arran and besought him to keep the peace. The Archbishop declared *on his conscience* that he had no hostile intentions and, to emphasise his disclaimer, beat his breast, on which arose an ominous rattle from the breastplate concealed under his robe. He was evidently prepared to take a personal part in the hostile intentions he disclaimed and Bishop Douglas remarked with witty sarcasm "Methinks, my lord, your conscience is not good, for I hear it clatter." The noise indicated that the cardinal had an unsound, ramshackle kind of conscience.

Douglas takes a distinct position in the history of English Literature as the earliest verse translator into English of an ancient classic poet and as the Father of English Descriptive

Poetry. He also appears to have been the first Scottish poet who used the misnomer of 'Scottish' for the Anglian language of the Lowlands of Scotland. His contemporary Dunbar calls his own language 'Inglis' and ridicules the language of the Highlanders as 'Ersch' (Irish Gaelic).

Douglas's translation of the *Æneid* is a scholarly work and most creditable to the author considering the age and country in which it was written and the fact that the translator had no models to follow. But it must be admitted that it is not a work that can be read with pleasure or profit at the present day. It can hardly be revived as a rival to the translations of Dryden and Conington or to the prose versions dear to the unscrupulous schoolboy. One who attempted to use Douglas's version as a crib has recorded the resulting surprise. "Well do I recollect," he says, "in early days borrowing old Gavin's translation from a circulating library in order to steal a sly march upon my class fellows in version-making. What was my disappointment on finding that the copy was a great deal more unintelligible than the original and that in reality he of St. Giles stood more in need of a translator than he of Mantua!" Not that the translation is really difficult reading for any one even slightly acquainted with mediæval English. For the translator takes great pains to suit his language to the not highly educated nation to whom he was introducing Virgil. In the main he wrote the translation in ordinary northern English such as was spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland. As he himself says,

> "I set my busy pain,
> As that I should, to make it broad and plain,
> Keeping no Southron but our ain language
> And speak as I learned when I was page."

That is to say, he translated Virgil in the words familiar to him from boyhood. When, however, he found no suitable word in his own vernacular, he did not scruple to borrow from

Southron or Midland English, or to use what he calls bastard Latin and French, that is, words that he coined for his purpose from Latin and French stems. His principle of translation is laid down in the prologue to the first book. He saw that, if he tried to adhere to a strict word for word translation, his rendering would not be generally intelligible.

> "Saint Gregory eke forbids us to translate
> Word after word but sentence follow algate."

He, therefore, ventures to condemn his revered master, Chaucer, for asserting in his *Legend of Good Women* that he could follow Virgil word for word. He often gives a diffuse paraphrase where Virgil is difficult to understand, so that the translation numbers about twice as many lines as the original. He is an enthusiastic admirer of the great Latin poet and with characteristic profusion of eulogy calls him gem of genius, flood of eloquence, peerless pearl, rose, palm, laurel, glory, chosen carbuncle, chief flower, cedar tree, lantern, loadstar, mirror and *a per se* (most distinguished), etc. etc. The enthusiasm thus strangely expressed, was no doubt sincere, and inspired love of Virgil in his contemporaries and successors, especially in the Earl of Surrey who translated two books of the *Æneid* in the reign of Henry VIII and in some passages follows Gavin Douglas. Douglas may, therefore, be regarded as leading through Surrey to the illustrious line of English translators of the classics which includes such great names as Chapman, Marlowe, Dryden, Pope, Cowper and Tennyson, though most of them may never have read *The XIII Bukes of Eneados of the Famose Poete Virgil translated out of Latyne Verses into Scottish Metir bi the Reverend Father in God, Mayster Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkel.*

The best part of Douglas's translation of the *Æneid* is a by-product. It is by the original prologues prefixed to the thirteen books of the translation that he takes his rank as a true poet and establishes his position as the earliest descriptive poet in English Literature, unless that title can be claimed by him who in the Anglo-Saxon period in his poem on the Phoenix described the Home of the Blessed. That poem, however, is mainly a translation of Lactantius, whereas the prologues of Douglas are original. In mediæval poetry there are indeed continual descriptions of May morning to provide fitting surroundings for the poet to fall asleep in. But they all seem conventional and unreal, more like stage scenery than real nature. In Chaucer description of nature is generally short and, as in the ancient classics, strictly subordinate to the narrative. At last we find in Douglas's prologues to the translation of the *Æneid*, as in Thomson's *Seasons* and Byron's *Childe Harold*, description for the sake of description. In the prologues to the seventh, twelfth, and thirteenth books we have pictures of a dark winter day, a summer morning and evening, long and elaborate and evidently composed from direct study of nature. There are fresh touches of first-hand observation, as when the poet describes the rough mountain tops smoothed over with coverlets of snow. The seventh prologue is a powerful description of a northern winter day with its snow, biting air, floods, and sheep and shepherd boys "wet, weary, and draggled in the fen" seeking shelter from the bitter blasts. The description of such horrible weather comes appropriately between the descent to Hell in the sixth book and the coming narrative of the horrors of war. The poet amusingly indicates his appreciation of his own work by remarking at the end that

"This prologue smells new come forth from Hell" and requiring that it should be illumined with sable letters. He goes still farther in his appreciation of the twelfth prologue, which he calls the "Pearl of May," and he orders its sovereign excellence to be marked by having the capital letters illumined with gold. The splendid description of a May morning in the twelfth Prologue is followed in the thirteenth by an equally brilliant picture of a June evening. The diffusive and exhaustive character of Douglas's descriptive poetry may be well illustrated by comparing this last prologue with Milton's picture of evening in Paradise :—

> "Silence accompanied for beast and bird
> They to their grassy couch, these to their nests
> Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale."

Douglas's description might have been made as an expansion of Milton's. The chief difference is that, while Milton speaks generally of beast and bird, Douglas begins with the bat rising in her "peeled leathern flight" and the lark singing her compline song that she may take her rest and rise betimes in the morning. Then are mentioned various kinds of beast, bird, fish, fowl with their habitations by land and sea in the air, wood, meadow, lake, marsh, "scroggs, buskis ronk, and pulis donk." In the survey of living beings going to their rest are included even the little midges, the restless flies, laborious emmets, and the busy bees. Like Milton, Douglas ends effectively with the exception of the nightingale. All went to rest

> "Owtak the mery nychtgaill, Philomene,
> That on the thorn sat syngand fra the splene."

that is to say, from melancholy. This seems contradictory to the epithet 'mery,' unless we remember that in Old English the word 'mery' meant 'pleasant' rather than 'mirthful,' so that it could well express the charm of the nightingale's "most musical, most melancholy" song.

MICHAEL MACMILLAN

IV

THE CHILD OF NIGHT

In league with murkiest night,
Pale sorrow stalks the ground,
Her footsteps tread out light
And keep the earth spelt-bound.

Her eyes are backward cast
To catch the waifs of night,—
Lone joys that do not last,
And memories slipt from height.

Across the ribs of night
She flings her freight of tears,
And feeds the stars with fright,
And feels the air with fears.

She has no filial love,
Frail sorrow, child of night,
When th' heart sings like a dove,
She kills it with her blight;

And drowns the east in gloom,
And darkens all the west,
And cuts off flowers in bloom
And locks out life from rest.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

STEEL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

> "Gold is for the mistress—silver for the maid
> Copper for the craftsman, cunning at his trade
> Good! said the Baron, sitting in his hall
> But Iron—Cold Iron—is the master of them all."

The cry for industrial development is almost universal throughout the country. It was in response to a strong popular demand in this direction that the Indian Industrial Commission was appointed and the appointment of the Fiscal Commission itself was largely due to the popular desire to industrialise India by means of protective tariffs. The advantages which India would derive from such industrialisation are too well known to need repetition. It will be sufficient to say that the Fiscal Commission held that "Such development would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole, creating new sources of wealth encouraging the accumulation of capital, enlarging the public revenues, providing more profitable employment for labour, reducing the excessive dependence of the country on the unstable profits of agriculture and finally stimulating the national life and developing the national character." If the need for industrial development is urgent, it will be readily seen that the question of developing steel, which provides the raw material of almost all industries, is of the utmost importance for the economic well-being of the country.

Notwithstanding pious hopes, the talk of cosmopolitanism is yet but a far cry. The Free Trade ideal of buying the best goods in the cheapest market has been thrown overboard by almost every country except England, which sticks to that policy because of its peculiar circumstances. Looking around we find that almost every nation is trying as far as possible to make itself independent of foreign markets with regard to at least the essential industries and the industries of national defence. Healthy economic development for India, it has, therefore, been generally held depends on its securing for itself an internal supply of steel and protective aids have been sought to help the industry in its present infant stage.

It is a commonplace of Economics, however, that protective aids cannot by themselves bring industries into existence. "The tariff history of the United States serves to illustrate a familiar economic doctrine—the doctrine that comparative Costs determine the range of International trade." Such is the opinion of Dr. Taussig, one of the greatest living authorities on tariffs. The first question that we have, therefore, to ask ourselves is, does India possess comparative advantage over other countries for the development of the steel industry? The causes of comparative advantage require careful analysis—they are partly physical and partly moral and intellectual. Coming to discuss Indian conditions it will be doubtless conceded that India possesses great physical advantages—her limitless resources of rich iron ore in close proximity to abundant quantities of coal and flux secure for her a position of great strength and stability. On the other hand, foreigners have decided advantages over India in respect of trained labour supply, better organised system of credit and transport facilities. It is obvious, however, that a comparative advantage which rests not on physical causes but on acquired habits and institutions may be influenced by a stimulus in the way of protection. Another point which deserves to be made clear is that while industrial aptitude, network of banks and transport facilities help the industrial development of a country, they are, in turn, stimulated by industrial progress and no great improvement in them can come unless India takes more and more to industries.

It has been urged that before granting protective aids the Tariff Board should inquire if the steel industry satisfies the second important condition laid down by the Fiscal Commission, namely, that the industry is one which cannot be developed without protection. This is a proposition which it is very difficult to establish for the simple reason that there is not sufficient material to make an inductive study possible. As regards the Tata Company, the only big concern that we have in our country, Mr. Pilcher's evidence brings out that its achievement during (1912-13 to 1916-17), the first five years of its existence was phenomenal in that it earned a profit of about Rs. 4 lakhs more than its working capital and that its record during the next four years (1917-18 to 1920-21) were equally glorious—profits amounted to Rs. 403 lakhs, "a sum exceeding the average paid up capital of the company." It cannot, in view of these large profits, be denied that its neglect to "build up adequate reserves against post-war depression" has been a serious offence, nor can it be disputed that the rise in its present costs of production is largely to be attributed to ill-timed extensions.

But even if the time for extensions has been ill chosen there can be little doubt that the interests of the country will be better served by helping the industry in its present unequal contest with foreign producers rather than by allowing it to perish in cold neglect. Out of a total import trade of about Rs. 266 crores in 1921-22 Iron and Steel imports accounted for no less than Rs. 81 crores : huge figures of iron and steel imports show that there is room for a large iron-manufacturing industry in India. It is obvious, however, that the full effects of extensions that have been made will require time to work themselves out and further that they can be realised only if there is no danger of dumping by foreign producers. If dumping is in progress (there are strong reasons to believe that this is so) the existence of the home industry must necessarily be at stake. It is, therefore, primarily against the effects of dumping that protective aids are being sought. Protection to the industry may be desirable further on the purely economic ground that Steel is an industry which is subject to increasing returns, that is, it is an industry in which increase in output leads to lower costs of production.

Again, the negative argument based on the losses which the country will have to bear in case the Tata Company has to wind up its business is one that deserves serious consideration. The loss of Rs. 20 crores by a few shareholders of a private company might be of no great direct consequence to the nation but the indirect effects are likely to be extremely prejudicial to India's best interests—the loss of employment by no less than 40,000 workers and the deterrent effect on future Indian enterprise are weighty considerations which no well-wisher of India can afford lightly to dismiss.

Finally, it should not be forgotten that cheap ocean freights to centres of distribution in India as opposed to high internal Railway rates are a great handicap to the growth of industries in the country. How seriously prejudicial Railway rates affect Indian industrial development deserves to be made clear. An illustration may be found in Mr. Kirloskar's evidence before the Tariff Board wherein he stated that while the freight rate between Bombay and Tatanagar was Rs. 67-8, that between Bombay and Antwerp was only 14*s*. 6*d*. Ordinarily, the distance through which foreign goods must pass and the cost of transportation over that distance alone serve to create a protective wall for the home producer but in India the case seems to be wholly otherwise. It would not probably be very wrong to say, therefore, that Indian industries will continue to require artificial aids so long as the Railway rates are not adjusted to the industrial needs of the country.

We come next to the study of another very important aspect of the problem, namely, whether such protection will "result in a net economic advantage to the country." It may be well here to state clearly a fact often forgotten that a policy of protection almost invariably entails immediate losses on the community and that justification for such a policy is to be sought in the ultimate benefits which are promised. If this point is borne in mind it will be clear that it is no strong condemnation of a protective tariff to say that it will mean the temporary abandonment of some Railway projects and delay in the construction of some irrigation works or that it will have retarding effects on Coal, Jute and Tea industries or even that it will temporarily turn the balance of trade unduly in India's favour, thus making the sterling value of the rupee go up. Short-period losses of ten or twelve years are of no great consequence in the life of a nation if the ultimate benefits are great. A great steel industry in the country may give such a powerful stimulus to its economic development and may so enrich the nation in the course of a generation as to fully justify some immediate sacrifices.

India is predominantly an agricultural country with proverbially poor agriculturists and it may be rightly urged that any protective tariff which will go far to increase their miseries stands self-condemned. But when we remember that land in India is held in small and scattered pieces by farmers who partly because of their illiteracy and partly because of their want of capital make little use of modern types of agricultural implements, we can easily understand that high prices for them are not likely to affect the small agriculturists to any great extent. Another important consideration to be borne in mind is that agriculture not being a self-supporting industry, small agriculturists and field labourers seek employment in industries as soon as the harvesting season is over. If, as may be fairly assumed, internal steel production gives a stimulus to industrial development in the country, the small farmers as well as the field labourers will be saved from their absolute dependence on agriculture and their gains from such continuous employment are likely to more than counterbalance some losses which they will undoubtedly incur. The case of the well-to-do farmer stands on a different footing—he will certainly suffer to a greater extent but his staying power is considerable and he may not be unwilling to undergo some sacrifices in the higher interests of the country.

It has been further alleged that in view of the high prices for steel that are likely to rule under a protective regime no market other than the home one would be open to the Indian manufacturer and that in consequence he must confine himself to India with its restricted annual consumption of about one million tons. This argument overlooks certain important points: in the first place, to assume that Indian prices will stabilise at the high level of Rs. 195 per ton is to ignore the fact that "the march of inventions brings many surprises"; a more important consideration is that if a protective tariff helps the Tata Company it will help others also and if the Tata's do not bring down their cost of production others will. For one thing enterprising foreign producers are not likely to let go this splendid opportunity. Prices must come down if care is taken to keep up internal competition. Further, it is not fair to assume that the Indian annual consumption must for ever be restricted to one million tons. If the probable future benefits of protection are realised there is every reason to hope that better conditions and greater purchasing power of the people will be reflected in larger demands for steel and its products.

The burden that a protective tariff is likely to entail depends really on the degree of protection extended, its duration and the extent of its application and the policy of discriminating protection which has been adopted for India requires that the "sacrifice should be restricted to the minimum necessary to attain the object aimed at." In accordance with this recommendation it may be suggested that the proposed Tariff Act should be carefully limited in all the three directions noted, that is, the duty should be fixed at a low rate, there should be provision for the gradual disappearance of the duty in accordance with some sliding scale system and exemptions should be granted in favour of machinery and such fabricated steel products as are not likely to be produced in India.

From what has been said it should be clear that whatever the faults of omission and commission on the part of the Tata Company may be, it would be short-sighted policy to refuse to help this struggling industry which is of fundamental importance to the economic welfare of the country. Protection should be accorded to the industry positively in view of the great ultimate benefits to the nation as a whole and negatively because of the magnitude of the dislocation in the occupations of the people and of the deterrent effect on Indian enterprise that a failure of this business is likely to involve.

An equally important point for us to remember is that in view of the poverty of the mass of population in India we must be careful not to impose a more than necessary burden on the community. An undue enhancement in the price of steel will in many ways retard the economic progress of the country. These facts bring home the necessity of having the protective duty fixed at as low a level as is consistent with the development of the industry. But partly on account of the abnormal conditions of the company and partly on account of the unstable condition of present European exchanges it is well-nigh impossible to arrive at a correct estimate of the degree of protective help that may be rightly extended to the industry. The imposition of a 33⅓ per cent. tariff, based as it is on the present costs of the Tata Company and that of foreign producers (both of which are likely to come down when business assumes a more normal course) would be, it has been generally held, extremely unjust to the taxpayer.

Turning next to the other suggestion of an equal grant of subsidy, it may be observed that, apart from the fact that such a bounty will tend to do away with all incentives to production, the logic of events places it beyond the category of our choice. New resources of taxation at the disposal of the Government are extremely limited : any tax which might increase the miseries of the people would be seriously resented and any higher tax on income would be a great handicap to industrial development.

This leaves only one safe course open for us, namely, that a low bounty aid of 5 per cent. may be given in conjunction with a low protective duty of 15 per cent. One great advantage of the adoption of this proposal lies in the fact that it would not involve any great change in the tax system of India. Exercise of some little economy might enable the Government to provide the bounty without taking recourse to additional taxation. A small enhancement of the existing customs duty by 5 per cent. making it 15 per cent. instead of 10 per cent. could hardly be held to impose "intolerable burdens" on the community. Further, it may be added that a certain amount of external competition will probably remain in a mitigated form. This will be of great advantage to India in so far as it will act as a check on any further decline of Indian efficiency as regards methods of production.

J. C. DASGUPTA.

QUEEN SUPAYALAT

(*A Legend of Mandalay*)

I

King Thibaw smiled from his teakwood throne
And greeted his guests in a buoyant tone :

"You two are the wisest of all my men,
So I beg you to counsel me once again :

"In walking the ways of my fathers of old,
By Buddha's grace I have gained much gold ;

"Now a costly shrine I aspire to build,
And its lavish pinnacles thickly gild.

"Advise me what is a fit design,
That the chief pagoda of all be mine."

"Like a Hindu temple let it be."
Responded the noble Htaik Tin Gyi.

"May," Bo Shwe shouted, with flashing eye,
"Make a single spire to pierce the sky."

II

A shuffle of sandals across the floor . . .
Queen Supayalat came through the door.

Her fingers tore at a waist of silk ;
Her palm was a cup for dripping milk.

"Who dares have a better plan than mine ?
Let this be the model for your shrine ;

"For what is so fair as a woman's breast,
By the lips of a new-born babe caressed ?"

III

A thousand artisans scorned the sun,
Bereft of ease till the work was done—

Till the walls were whitewashed all around,
And the peak with a golden nipple crowned.

* * *

King Thibaw long in the earth has laid,
Yet pilgrims flock to the shrine he made—

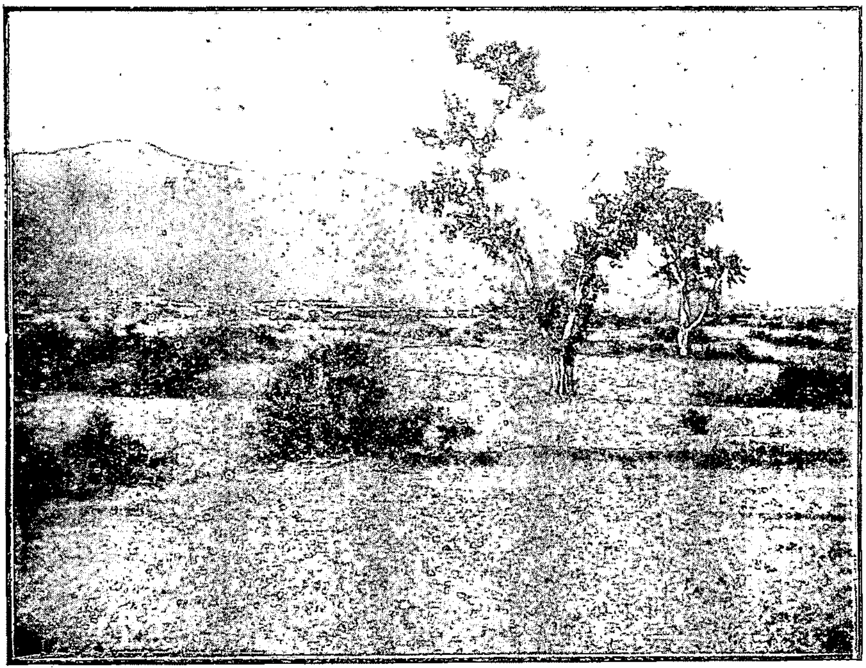
Hilarious Burmans on festival days,
Intoning their hymns in Buddha's praise ;

For what is so fair as a woman's breast,
By the lips of a new-born babe caressed ?

WAYNE GARD

RAJGIR

I. 'New Rajgriha' (Rajgir Plateau).

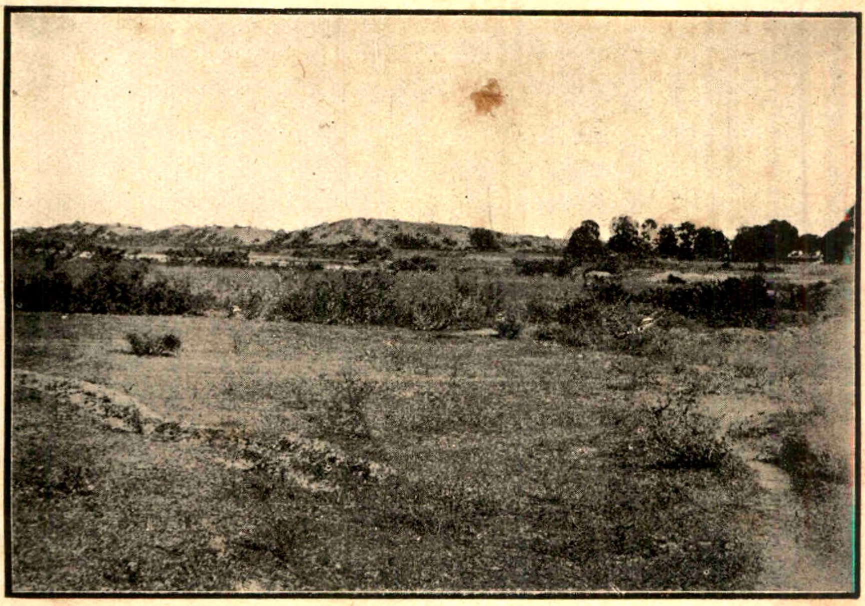


II. Vaihar Hill.

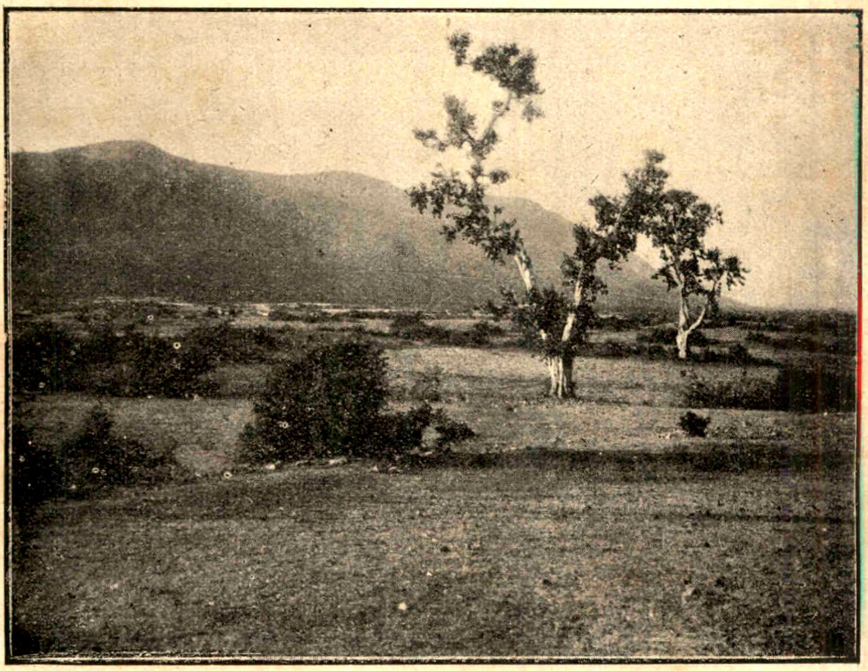
III. Vaihar-Giri and its "Northern Shade."

IV. Pippali-Guha in the Vaihar Hill.

RAJGIR



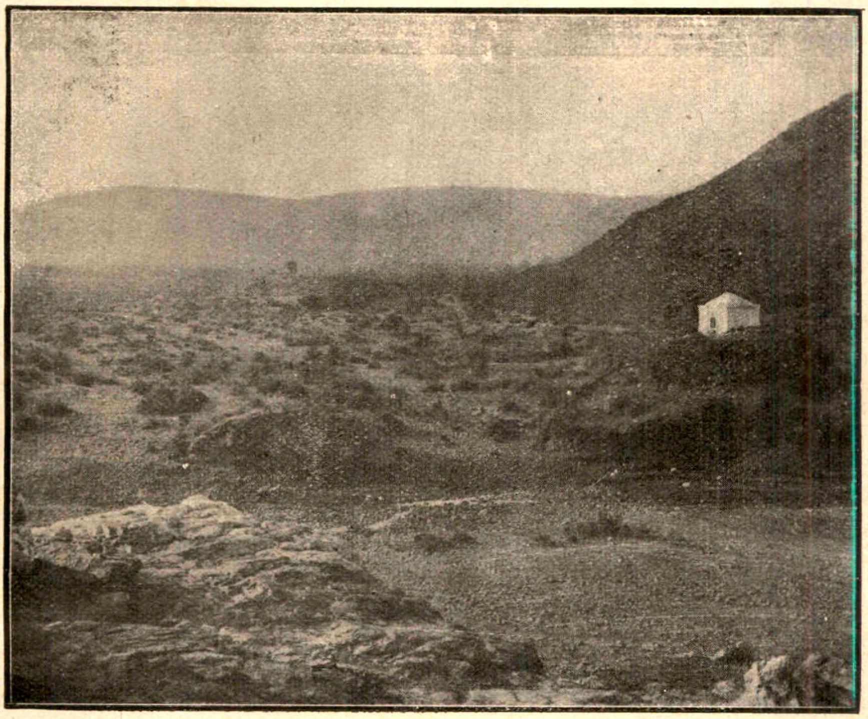
I. 'New Rajgriha' (Rajgir Plateau).



II. Vaihar Hill.

III. Vaihar-Giri and its "Northern Shade."

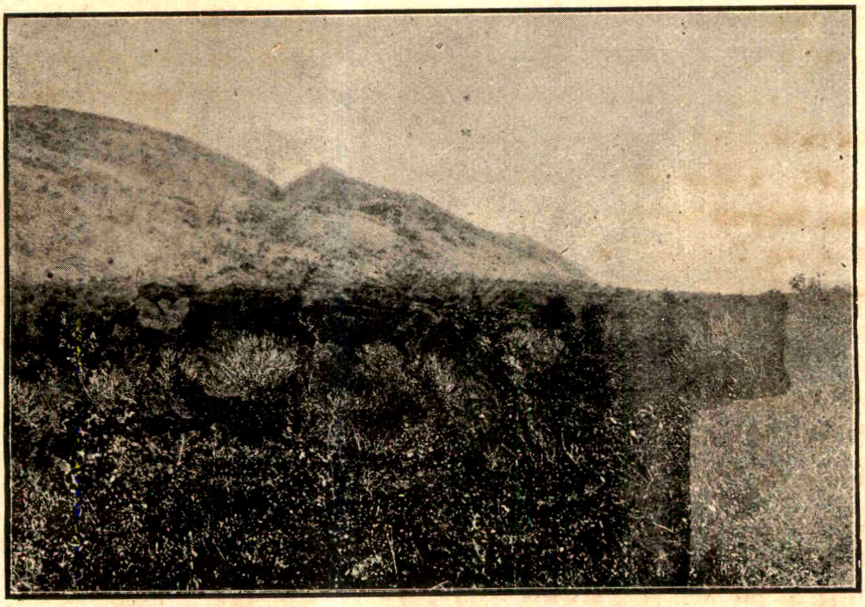
IV. Pippali-Guha in the Vaihar Hill.



V. Rajgir Valley (site of the old city) from a spur of Vipul Giri on the north.

VI. Pass between Vipul Giri and Ratna Giri (Pandava-parbata).

VII. Rajgir Valley (old city) from Vaihar Giri.



VIII. Gridhra-kūta Mountain.

Note on the Rajgir Pictures

I. " New Rajgriha." The picture shows the ramparts of Fahien's New Rajgriha. According to Chinese accounts this fortified town was built by Ajātasatru, which cannot be correct, as according to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, Ajātasattu was living in the old city in the valley. The relics found in the fortified town on the plateau do not carry us much beyond the 2nd century B. C.

II. "Vaihār Hill," from near the District Board Inspection Bungalow. It was in the ' northern shade ' of this mountain, below a cave on the slope, called Sattapanni-Guhā, that the first Council of the Buddhists took place.

III. A part of the " Vaihār-Giri " and its northern shade, which marks the area within which the council took place.

IV. A view of the Vaihār Hill with the Pippali-Guhā in the background. Pippali-Guhā has been generally wrongly identified with a sentry-box high up on the hill and made of rough-hewn boulders, with a number of chambers in it. Behind this structure is a quarry hole which has been identified as the Asuran cave of Hiuen-Tsiang. Pippali-Guhā, however, was a natural cave where Mahakāsyapa used to shut himself up for meditation. He used to live in a *parṇa-sālā* in front of it.

V. " Rajgir Valley " from a spur of the Vipul Hill on the north. Parts of the northern wall are visible and also a mount with the temple of Jarā Devi on it.

VI. A view of the north-eastern corner of the valley showing the " pass between the Ratna-giri (Pāndava Pabbata) and the Vipula-giri." " Pāndava Pabbata " is mentioned in connection with the first visit of prince Siddhārtha, who was met by Bimbisāra on the Western slope of this mountain. The name Pāndava-pabbata suggests that it is also associated with the Pāndavas who entered the city of Giribraja not through city gate but through a pass or over one of the hills.

VII. The valley with the old city from the Vaihar Hill, looking West towards the Pāndava or Ratna-giri mountain.

VIII. The famous Griddhra-kuta mountain which was a favourite retreat of Buddha and was highly venerated by Buddhists of the Mahāyana as well as the Southern schools.

D. N. SEN

DYARCHY: A STUDY IN "SPECIFIC DEVOLUTION"

[In this short paper, while pointing out the defects in theory and practice of Dyarchy as provided by Sec. 46 (1) of the Government of India Act of 1919, we will put forward and establish a plea for a specific Devolution not of so-called Imperial or provincial powers, but of responsibility, on the lines of the Colonial constitutions, from the Imperial Parliament to the Indian legislature: the reformed constitution of India to be drafted by the statesmen of India of all shades of political opinion, the business of the Imperial Parliament being only to ratify it. Opinions differ as to whether Dyarchy does, in fact, give any scope for a real training in responsibility: the main purpose of this essay is to show that it does not. For one thing, the disallowance by the President of the Bengal Legislative Council of a motion of non-confidence in the present Ministers on the plea that it does not come within the meaning of the provisions of the Government of India Act makes the responsibility of the Ministers perfectly illusory.]

1. The word *Dyarchy* is a compound of two Greek words signifying 'two' and 'governments.' Following this derivative meaning one writer has explained Dyarchy as "two governments in the same area." We think that this does not explain the whole significance of the term; on the contrary, such an explanation leads to some confusion of thought, as is evident when some people think the federal constitutions to be so many illustrations of the dyarchical form of government. Federal constitutions are not instances of dyarchy though they represent, widely speaking, "two governments in the same area." "The idea of two authorities with separate main-springs co-existing in one area," says Curtis, "seem patently absurd,—the term dyarchy is applied to mark that absurdity"—this view also favours our contention that federal constitutions do not represent dyarchy: because in that case one would have called the

Government of India, prior to 1919, also dyarchical in form. We shall examine this view more fully as we proceed.

We, then, understand by Dyarchy, not two separate governments in the same area, but two independent executives within one and the same government. Government is in principle, a unity and we cannot speak of two independent governments in the same area just as we cannot speak of two sovereignties in any one State. There may, indeed, be a separation of governmental functions, but these governmental functions, in their entirety, constitute the government of the country. If we do not make this fundamental distinction of principle, we would fall into the error of considering the rural and urban autonomous authorities *poly-archical*, because in spite of their autonomy, they are subject, nevertheless, in some matters to a higher authority.

We have taken Dyarchy to mean a form of government consisting of two independent executives. Evidently, the two executives must not derive their sanction in any vertical way, that is, neither of these executives should be subject to the other, in any matter, within its own competence. In other words, the two independent executives must not be lateral in character. Under a federal constitution, the federal authority is the real sovereign executive, and the component states are vertically placed under it. If each of these component states had some sovereign power of government, which none of the others had, the system would have been dyarchical or even poly-archical in character. As it is, however, federalism really represents a unified government, with a central government to harmonise the administrative autonomies of the component states. It is true that in a federation like that of the United States of America the powers retained by the component states are inherent and not delegated by the federal authority. But the system is on a par with the system of a (largely autonomous) provincial government subject to a central government. Dyarchy disappears as soon as we make one of the two executives subject in any degree whatever to the other executive and it relapses into a system of government with a single executive.

2. This leads us on to the question of divided sovereignty, or more correctly, of divided authority. Can authority be divided? There has been a remarkable difference of opinion on this question. On the one side, maintaining that authority can be and in fact has been divided, in practice, are such eminent men as Madison, Judge Cooley, De Tocqueville Bluntschli, while on the other stoutly resisting this theory is a galaxy of equal brilliance consisting of men like Calhoun, Garner, Willoughby and others. In fact, dyarchy representing two wills in one government reduces responsibility to the condition of the mythical Echo which exists but cannot be located. "If the several supposed wills were co-ordinate," says Garner, "obviously neither could be sovereign." And, as a matter of practice, it happens that one or the other of the several supposed wills, as a rule, reigns supreme and becomes the source of sovereign power. It is for this reason that, purely from theoretical considerations, a dyarchical form of government defeats its own purpose; and one of the worst features of dyarchy inaugurated in the provinces of India under the Government of India Act is the tendency of the Minister to get subordinated to the influence of the virtually irresponsible Executive Council.

3. The Dyarchy that has been introduced in the provinces of India is, in the words of Lord Sinha, a case of *Specific Devolution*. In the first place, some specific subjects which were all-India in character before the Reform Act of 1919 have been handed over to the provincial administration. This, however, does not give rise to dyarchy because this devolution is functional in character. Secondly, some specific items out of this latter, that is, the provincial subjects, which can be increased by amendment of Devolution Rules under the Act have been "transferred" for administration by the

Governor acting with the Ministers chosen from among the elected members of the legislature responsible *in theory* to the electorate. These specific items are called "Transferred Subjects" and embrace quite a variety of departments such as Municipal and Rural Government, Public Health including Hospitals and Lunatic Asylums, Public Works other than Railways and Canals, Agriculture, Excise, Education (except Non-European), Industrial Development (Electricity, Factories Acts, Boilers Acts excluded) and other minor matters. The remaining departments such as the Police, Justice, Land Revenue, and a few others are administered by the Governor-in-Council who remain as before answerable to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State for India. The Governor in Council means the Governor in Executive Council, the members of which "are all appointed by the Crown, removable only by the Crown and in no sense amenable to the directions or discipline of the provincial legislature" (Meston). The first stage of responsible government is sought to be realised by the training in responsible government which the Ministers, and through them the legislative council, undergo in respect of the Transferred Departments. The Declaration of August 20, 1917, promises "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." It also lays down that this ultimate goal of responsible government is to be achieved by "successive stages." How can the "progressive realisation of responsible government" be achieved unless by a process of specific devolution? If we take the pronouncement and the policy underlying it as settled facts, we have no alternative but to acquiesce in the view that a government by specific devolution of powers, that is, by a dyarchical form of government, with adequate safeguards and guarantees seems to be the best suited for carrying out the policy. But in practice these safeguards and guarantees have been neglected.

4. But before we further proceed, we must pause for a while and take note of a very fundamental objection against dyarchy. It is said that dyarchy is not suited to the political conditions of India. There is both reason and force in this argument. Dyarchy as a constitutional measure seems to be a "superimposition" and not "penetration." India is not a country which is prone to very radical innovations because she has her own instincts and genius, the result of an age long civilisation, which cannot be easily ignored. These will not brook any attempt on the part of the foreigner to saddle her with an instrument utterly foreign to her traditions. "The true value of a political contrivance," says Bryce,[1] "resides not in its ingenuity but in its adaptation to the temper and circumstances of the people for whom it is designed." Besides, "the foundation of Government is faith not reason," says Lowell.[2] And Dyarchy has forfeited this faith. It does not stimulate the interest of the people and cannot sustain real political life. It breathes a spirit of distrust of the people and this psychological defect is a great obstacle to its ready acceptance and assimilation.

5. Coming to a detailed consideration of the dyarchy as introduced by the Government of India Act, we find that it leads to a want of harmony in the government as a whole owing to differences on questions of public policy affecting the whole government, between (*a*) the "Reserved" and the "Transferred" halves of the executive, and (*b*) the Executive as a whole, and the legislature, specially if the Ministers allow themselves to be subordinated to the will of the Executive Council. As regards (*a*), much stress is laid on the harmonising capacity of the Governor. The Government of India in its Reforms Despatch dated March 5, 1919, remarks: "...the two sets of functions can only be exercised properly by the two different authorities if there is a para-

---

[1] Bryce: American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 357.

[2] Lowell: Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, Vol. I, p. 103.

mount governmental power over them both—in this case Parliament and its agent, the Government of India." (para. 12) This statement is mischievous. In the first place, this gives rise to an inherently horizontal division of powers condemned in the very next paragraph of the Despatch. Secondly, the principle underlying the statement is mischievous since if the Government of India exercises too frequent control over the relations between the Councillors and the Ministers, the much-talked of education in responsibility becomes a mere sham; if, on the other hand, the Government exercises a very rare control —to be "restricted in future within the narrowest possible limits" as the Joint Committee put it—the presence of an effective harmonising authority is removed. As regards (*b*), that is, regarding a conflict between the Executive and the legislature, there is scarcely any remedy, if at all, and there is the risk of the precedent of 1903 in the history of Malta when the constitution granted under Letters Patent of 1887 had to be revoked [1] as a result of an uncompromising attitude taken up by the legislature, being followed here.

6. Next comes the question of separate responsibility, which is at once delicate, complex and difficult. The experiment in separate responsibility had been a failure in the Colonies before they were granted full responsible government. But the experiment in the colonies by which men had still to discover the mechanism whereby responsible government could be worked was a failure. They had to

---

[1] Lowell's remarks on this carries peculiar weight in the case of India as well. Says he:

"The constitution of that year was doomed to fail, because it created two independent forces that were almost certain to come into collision without any power that could bring them in harmony. Parliamentary Governments avoid deadlocks by making the executive responsible to the legislature. Presidential government limits deadlocks because all the organs of the state must alternately submit to a superior tribunal, the electorate of the nation. But a legislature elected by the people, coupled with a governor appointed by a distant power, is a contrivance for fomenting dissensions and making them perpetual." —Government of England, Vol. II, Ch. lvi.

learn by making mistakes, by testing contrivances which proved unworkable in practice. Responsible government was achieved by discarding them. The resignation of a number of Indian Ministers during the very first term of the Legislative Councils under the Reform Act, Ministers who are never known to have held extreme opinions also show that the contrivance is not working smoothly in India too. We may be excused if we quote the remarks of Curtis *in extenso* to show this theoretical defect of separate responsibility :

> Suppose for instance that the minister of education in Madras refuses to throw open all schools to the depressed classes, and his colleagues supported by a majority in the legislative council are against him. The Governor supports the majority and the minister resigned. His successor must be some one in harmony with the majority and will in practice be the choice of his colleagues. Or suppose the reverse, that the minister of education wishes to open the schools and his colleagues supported by a majority are averse to it. If the Governor dismisses the minister of education his successor will be practically chosen by his colleagues. But if the Governor will not dismiss the minister of education and insist on giving effect to his views, his colleagues will both resign and the Governor will be faced with an *impasse*. He cannot constitute a ministry which has the support of the legislature. The thing will not work.[1]

The difficulty may be temporarily obviated by ordering a dissolution and if the minister of education be re-elected along with the other ministers, to dismiss the minister of education and get another of the choice of the majority. But that does not preclude the possibility of an *impasse* of a like nature recurring again and again.

The question of the responsibility of Ministers to the legislature itself is fraught with anomalies. The legislatures as constituted under the Act of 1919 retain a strong *bloc* of official and nominated element which is by no means a negligible factor in influencing the Division List. Are the Ministers responsible to the *elected* section of the legislature

---

[3] Memorandum of Evidence before the Joint Select Committee. See also para. 60 of the Report of the Functions Commitee.

or to the whole of it? Though it is laid down that the ministers are to be appointed (by the Governor) from among the *elected* members of the local legislature, they are legally responsible to the *whole* of the legislature; that is, they would not, if they chose, be bound by the majority verdict of the elected members of the local legislature in which the official and nominated members hold the balance between the bureaucracy and the elected members. The motion for the refusal of the Excise Grant in Bengal, for instance, was rejected by a single vote, though almost the entire *bloc* of the elected members voted in favour of the motion for refusal and this illustrates the fictitous nature of ministerial responsibility. The motion for adjournment, in the same Council, to discuss the situation created by the President's disallowance of the motion for non-confidence in the present Ministers met with the same fate. The presence of official members, irremovable by, and irresponsible to, the electorate, silently and like automatons voting in favour of the bureaucracy is unconstitutional, irrational and demoralising. It plainly shows that the Ministers are responsible partly to the Electorate and partly to the Secretary of State, or rather to a hybrid body composed partly of elected members and partly of members who are the allies of the bureaucracy. This kind of ministerial responsibility cannot be called responsibility to the representatives of the people, for it implies divided responsibility or no responsibility at all.

7. Specific devolution of functions, however perfectly made, will always leave a debatable borderland. The warning "Beware of the pitfall of concurrent jurisdiction," given by Sir Wilfred Laurier to the South African Convention seems not to have been lost upon the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill. They, however, thought that the Governor would have naturally to come to the rescue in such disputes. But one must not forget that the position of the Governor himself is likely to be compromised as an arbitrator.

Being responsible to the British Parliament, his support will naturally go to the Reserved Departments in cases of definitely concurrent jurisdiction. It must be borne in mind that concurrent jurisdiction does not mean doubtful jurisdiction: it means a sphere over which the jurisdiction of both halves of the executive extends. And it is quite likely that the Governor will have a pre-disposition to decide in favour of that half for which he is responsible.

Take the apportionment of the Budget, for instance, between the two halves of the executive. The resources "are to be left to an annual scramble between the executive council and the ministers which must develop into an open conflict in the legislative council, a conflict which can only be resolved by the personal fiat of the governor. But the governor will already be identified with the apportionment framed by the executive council. It is no rash prediction that under this system every Governor will have every year to use his extraordinary powers to over-rule not only the ministers but also the legislative council." (Curtis). The ministers will naturally be in a strange predicament under the system of joint purse. In order to retain their hold over the legislature which they are expected to lead, they are ever tempted to press, on the one hand, for reduced taxation, and on the other, for higher expenditure on the more popular services under his control. As against this, there is the Executive Council which is beset by the rising tide of charges for the less popular but equally necessary duties for which they are answerable. Under these circumstances, as Lord Meston has pointed out, a recalcitrant House commanding a majority may create endless difficulties.

8. The demarcation of subjects has not been less anomalous. While Industrial Development has been made a Transferred Subject, Electricity and Factories are reserved for administration by the Executive Council. These are closely allied subjects and one cannot proceed without the others.

A particular factory policy may adversely affect the industrial policy of the Minister-in-charge of Industries, and if either the Councillor or the Minister adopts an uncompromising attitude, the result may be disastrous. The Finance Department is a huge anomaly. Under the Devolution Rules made under the Act, it is a Reserved subject; and yet a Transferred Department has as much interest in it as a Reserved Department. On all schemes of development the Finance Department will have naturally to identify itself with the Reserved subjects. Much can of course be done by a system of joint deliberations but it is not provided for in the Act.

The scheme of specific devolution has perfectly run amock in the case of the Civil Services. The Civil Servant serving under a Minister must be an object of wonder to the student of responsible government. Section 36 (1) of the Government of India Act lays down that "no person in that service may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed, and the Secretary of State in Council may (except so far as he may provide by rules to the contrary) reinstate any person in that service who has been dismissed." Then, secondly, there is the provision by which any member of the superior Civil Service may get redress over the heads of his Minister by direct access and representation to the Governor. Thus the so-called full autonomy even in the case of the Transferred Departments seems to be chimerical. The Minister cannot control or call for an explanation from his subordinates who are appointed by the Secretary of State for India and protected by statute. This exercises an unhealthy influence on the members of the public service who always resent duality of policy and divided allegiance to two sets of masters. An obstinate I. C. S. Secretary of sufficiently strong will may entirely reduce his Minister to a nonentity, and may annihilate the much-talked of responsibility of the ministers, for how can there be responsibility without power?

9. Dyarchy has, besides, saddled the people with possibilities of increased taxation. If revenues are not allocated commensurate with the needs of the Transferred Department coupled with a specific power of taxation, and if Ministers are to render a satisfactory account of their stewardship, recourse must be had to fresh taxation. Since the discharge of its own responsibilities to the Parliament is the primary duty of the Government subordinate to the sovereign authority at Whitehall, it is quite natural that Reserved Departments have a priority of claim over the revenues of the country. In other words, the Executive Council can very well discharge its responsibility to Parliament without additional taxation: but if the Ministers have to discharge their responsibility to the people they cannot do this without displeasing the electors; this is an anomalous position. How lightly the Transferred Departments are actually treated by the Finance Department in framing the Budget will be apparent from a glance at the Budget proposals of 1924-25 for Bengal. A lakh of rupees (to quote only one instance) has been set apart for providing mosquito curtains to the police constables while only a paltry sum of one lakh and 15 thousand rupees has been provided for the medical relief of the whole population of Bengal! And yet, since the Reform Act was passed, an additional tax of about 41 lakhs of rupees had to be imposed on the people of this country.

10. The wonderful facilities for creating deadlocks that the Government of India Act thus open up before the members of the legislatures, the Swarajya Party has not been slow to take advantage of. The Central Provinces have for practical purposes put an end to dyarchy. Bengal has followed suit by refusing the salary of her Ministers. We need not trouble ourselves about the attitude which the Government is going to take up finally. What we want to emphasise is the fact that dyarchy has proved unworkable in practice.

The final remedy, from our point of view, is twofold: first, to go back on the Pronouncement of August 20, 1917, and revoke the Government of India Act of 1919, and, secondly, to grant to India a measure of self-government which will give her an effective voice in the administration of the country. In other words, we urge for a specific devolution not of particular functions with limited responsibility but a specific devolution of responsibility, except in such matters as Foreign Relations, Defence, etc., from the Imperial Parliament to the Indian Legislature. The first stage towards this specific devolution is the immediate grant of full provincial autonomy instead of the half measure of dyarchy: this is possible even within the four corners of the Pronouncement of August 20, 1917. In other words, in the provincial administration, the entire government should be subject to the vote of the Legislative Council, the Governor retaining his veto and reservation powers, which are to be exercised on very special occasions. The final stages of responsibility ought to be introduced in the Central Government in a form and manner determined upon by the accredited representatives and statesmen of India.

KHAGENDRANATH SEN
PABITRA KUMAR BASU
HARICHARAN GHOSH

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA[1]

It is a curious irony of fate that an Indian should be compelled to attempt to establish the importance of a study which ought to be a self-evident thing to every native of India. Such is, however, the might of the Kaliyuga recently ushered in that we have to vindicate before the people of Bhāratavarsha the importance of the history of our own country about which there ought to be no two opinions. The necessity of this study, we find, called in question in two different ways. We have people amongst us who say that history, European or Indian, is not of such importance in these days as Science or Economics. There are people, again, who hold that the history of Europe or America is alone of paramount importance and must be studied by every Indian who wishes his country to become great and prosperous, but that there is nothing in the history of India, be it of the Muhammadan or the pre-Muhammadan period, which merits our serious attention. It is these two views of our countrymen that we have to consider here. The first of these, as we have just seen, says that no history, that is, History of no country, is important as compared to the study of Science or Economics. History, they say, may wait, but Science and Economics cannot, if India is to take her proper place among the civilised nations of the world. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to find out what Science or Economics has done and what fabric of civilisation they have helped to build and rear up. Far be it from me to belittle the importance of the study of Science or be blind to the manifold advantages that mankind has derived from the progress of Science. What were we before the middle of the 19th century? If a Bengalee wanted to go to Bombay, how many days did he take to reach the place of his destination, and, after undergoing what hardships, privations and danger to his life? What was, again, the expense that he had to incur? What means of communication again did Bengal have with Mahārāshṭra? The whole thing has now suddenly changed. Within the life time of a single individual, India was covered with a net-work of steel rails on which are running every day locomotives with gigantic vehicles packed with passengers at an hourly speed exceeding the quickest journey of a day by king Pasenadi of Kosala or Tipu Sultan of Mysore. Both in and outside of the country were also set up wires along which messages run, not only from one extremity of India to another, but from any part of this country to any part of the civilised world. The benefits which mankind has derived from the development of Science are so obvious and so numerous that it is none but a cranky individual who would wish the society to revert to the condition of things which existed before James Watt gave the steam engine to the world and Arkright and Hargreaves revolutionised the process of spinning and weaving by machinery. No one would like to see India as it was in the time of Sivaji or of Aśoka, so far as material civilisation was concerned, and it is perfectly certain that if Aśoka and Akbar were to come to life again, they would be astounded to see the marvellous power over nature which man has obtained and would not in the least ask them to cast it aside as unmeaning or useless. But this picture represents one side of the question. If Science has killed both space and time by its own inventions and appliances, if Science has discovered drugs and remedies to alleviate and cure the pain and suffering of humanity, it has also invented diabolical machines not only to set one class or one nation against another but to destroy the human race itself by the speediest and most effective method possible. It is scarcely necessary to recall to mind what these devilish instruments of human destruction are. Sometimes, one cannot help imagining to oneself what the feeling of Aśoka or Akbar would have been, if they had been bodily present in the Śvetadvīpa or White Continent at the time of the last war and had seen with their own eyes the horrible destruction on land or sea wrought by the dreadnoughts, the submarines, the torpedoes, the mines, and the long-range guns, the machine guns, the tanks, the asphyxiating gases, the zeppelines, the aeroplanes, and the like. They would naturally have thought that the inventors of these machines could not be the same as those who made inventions for the augmentation of the material good and the destruction of pain and suffering for the sake of mankind and that if the latter were the *devaś*, the former were certainly the *dānavas*. But why blame Science ? Science, after all, is an instrument, though it is an instrument for doing infinite good or infinite evil, and it depends upon the being who handles it. If he is of the feeling and nature of the Devas, he will wield it to help and uphold creation. But if he is of the Dānava cast of mind, he will utilise it for demoralising or destroying mankind. What we have, therefore, to find out is why those who participated actively in the late war deserve to be called the Dānavas. As we are blinded and befooled by the glamour of their civilisation, it is desirable to find out what the thoughtful persons among them have to say about it. What is the opinion which Maxim Gorky has expressed in regard to modern Europe ? "I am not," says he, "a man of politics. I am only a Russian, conscious of the great importance of Europe to Russia and to the rest of the world ; conscious also of the prodigious brain of Europe which has conceived the vast creative ideas of humanism and socialism. Through wonderful scientific achievements and indefatigable labour, Europe has endowed the whole world with an admirable technical equipment. All this I acknowledge. But I do not forget that there has been formed within the European community itself an extremely numerous class of men for whom nothing is uplifting, whose servile labour and humiliation and hunger—the natural result of an abominable class system—deaden and destroy their minds and bodies. All this drives me to the belief that as formerly in the days of the Roman Empire, so now with this new empire of the West the collapse of Europe will result on the one hand from the pressure of foreign races from the outside and on the other from the explosion of noxious gases accumulated within,—rapacity and envy, greed and retaliation." It is worth noting that before the war, Maxim Gorky was enthusiastic about the civilisation of the west. But since the war he has lost faith in the genius of Europe. For the peoples of Europe, he thinks, have become tainted and coarsened in spirit as though some vile poison from within had been destroying her noble nature. All the brilliant intellect of Europe now seems to him to have been warped by the war-fever, to have been blinded by the war-passion. This has been the stupendous tragedy of modern history which has taken place before the eyes of the living men. Of course, we now know the genesis of this tragedy. To put it briefly, it is nationalism run mad. So long as the craze for nationalism is increasing, there can be no abatement of greed, industrialism, militarism and cruel and shameless exploitation and spoliation of the weaker, but, none the less, finer peoples of the world. This is the spirit of the modern civilised world. It is true that Europe continues to this day the centre of the creative activities of the world of mind, whence have developed scientific achievements and technical gifts that have produced marvels. But it is exactly this science that has been prostituted and is being prostituted into the service of nationalism by the different European countries for the gratification of their greed, envy and retaliation. It cannot be denied that from the European mind have radiated also the creative ideas of humanism and socialism, as Gorky has rightly pointed out. It was Europe which not before long spread the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity side by side with her scientific culture. It is Europe, again, or rather England, which is the cradle of free institutions and has fostered noble, altruistic concepts and practices in the political sphere. Was it not England that was chiefly instrumental in the abolition of the slave trade? But gradually and insidiously the mentality of Europe has changed. The second quarter of the nineteenth century opened with a grand ideal for Europe,—"the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world." All European countries more or less tried to realise the ideal, and there was, on the whole, peace enduring everywhere,—such a real and durable peace as the world never knew before. But this grand noble ideal was being gradually replaced in the fourth quarter of the century by a sordid separatist goal,—that of nationalism, such nationalism as gives birth to industrialism and militarism. Should the educated Indians place this ideal before their country? It is true that industrialism has produced millionaires and multi-millionaires, but the glamour of wealth ought not to blind us to the social evils to which it has everywhere given rise. And it is entirely forgotten that the number of the millionaires and multimillionaires grows but in inverse ratio to the number of the miserable poverty-stricken people, with starvation often staring them in the face. As Prof. Huxley has put it, the people live "in a condition in which food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women and children are forced to crowd into dens where decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment: in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation : in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger rounded by a pauper's grave............I take it to be a mere plain truth, that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a large mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass, who, living just on the age of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."[1] Quotations from other foremost European writers might be multiplied to place before us a faithful picture of the present condition of the masses in the West. But what has already been quoted is enough to give us a vivid picture of the misery, want, disease and degradation that invariably follow in the wake of capitalism and industrialism. Should we like our country to imitate this example of Europe and spread all their social and economic evils in India? What is singular is that some of our countrymen would like us to cling to this ideal of the West, when the educated classes of Europe are groaning under materialism and turning to more ancient wells of inspiration, notably from India. Particularly noteworthy in this connection is a letter which a University student in Northern Germany wrote to Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore some time ago. "We, young men and students," says he, "who had been witnesses of the destructions in the old order of things, which was composed of different states and governments for winning power and organisation for capitalistic aims,—we, the youth of Europe, have learnt, under the huge sacrifice of blood which the West had to give, that all is lost if the soul dies in isolation by itself. We know that the most important thing of life is the spirit of goodness and friendship.........The number of those among the young in Europe, who are wishing for peace and reconciliation, is growing greater and greater. We, do not trust any more in the omnipotence of organisation. To prepare our hearts and bring them one to another, that is the ultimate meaning of our doing. We have heard the call from the East, and we listen to it." So young Europe is at last discovering that all is lost if the soul dies and that the East has after all something to teach to the West. And yet some of our countrymen would rush India headlong into the vortex of that rank nationalism, which has brought Europe almost to the brink of destruction. Far be it from us to decry nationalism or industrialism. The ideal of India is humanitarianism and cosmopolitanism. Probably we are run as much to one extreme as Europe to the other. Probably what ought to be the real ideal of every civilised country in the world is nationalism side by side with, and without violence to, humanitarianism. What is, however, most important to remember is that in no case the human soul should be allowed to die. This is what Europe has practically done in its mad race after Nationalism. And no sane Indian will ever admit that India should slavishly pursue this ideal. All talk, therefore, about the study and development of science and economics to the exclusion of other subjects, even at the risk of the death of the soul, is not simply futile but positively dangerous. To cry therefore from the top of one's voice that we cannot think of history or any other subject except Science and Economics at this critical juncture if India is to take her legitimate place among the civilised nations of the world is nothing but mischievous madness.

---

[1] Lecture delivered on 3rd April, 1924, before the Historical Association of the Dacca University.

---

[1] *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, pp. 214-6.

Now, there are people among us who say that history is doubtless an important subject which no young man who wishes to have a liberal education can afford to neglect. But is there anything to learn, they ask, from the history of India, whether of the Muhammadan or pre-Muhammadan period? What was India before the English conquered it? Was it not in a state of barbarism? Did India contribute to civilisation or progress? On the other hand, look at Europe or America, Have not the various countries of the White Continent reached the pinnacle of civilisation? Have they not stood out boldly as teachers and civilisers to the African and Asiatic world? The history of Europe and America alone can therefore be interesting and instructive. Let us learn that history. The history of India has nothing to teach. This was the view which many Indians tenaciously held in the previous generation. Though their numbers are falling off now, they are by no means unknown and sometimes obtrude themselves on our attention. It was in one of the Indian Universities, we are told, that one educated Indian tried to move a resolution for abolishing, as waste of money, the Chair of Ancient Indian History that had already been created and maintained. Those who urge these arguments to run down the study of this history do nothing but betray their sad and unpardonable ignorance. And one sometimes cannot help wondering how they are entitled to be called educated. For it has now been admitted all over Europe that Indian culture has made a serious contribution to the world history, especially to that of Eastern Asia. This is neither the time nor the place to dilate on this topic. It is well-known that the wave of Hindu civilisation gradually broke upon and covered the whole of Eastern Asia, comprising Tibet, China, Japan, the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula and the Isles of the Indian Archipelago. Tibet, China and Japan accepted not only the religion of Buddha but also the Buddhist art and Buddhist philosophy. The name Burma is of Hindu derivation, and Cambodia and Java are nothing but the Sanskrit words *Kamboja* and *Yava*. The old capital of Siam was called Ayodhyā, and Annam had a Champā. And so far as their religion, polity and social institutions were concerned, they were typically Hindu. Again, remains of temples and pagodas are spread over these countries which in style and mythology are either Buddhistic or Brahmanical, that is, Hindu. Is there any doubt after this that they derived their culture and civilisation from

India? What happened on the north-eastern and eastern frontiers of India happened also on the north-west. The excavations conducted by Sir Aurel Stein in this province called Chinese Turkestan or Khotan have revealed many hundreds of documents, official and private. And what does a critical study of these records show? Of course, the religion prevalent here is doubtless Buddhism, many MSS. connected with which have been here picked up. But this is not all. The script employed in most of these documents is an Indian alphabet called Kharoshṭhī, and the language is a Prākrit speech such as was prevalent in India in the early centuries of the Christian era. Thus the people of Khotan at that period borrowed not only religion but also such other elements of culture as language and script from India. The Indians have thus been not only colonisers but also teachers and civilisers of all the countries that bordered India in Asia.

It must not, however, be supposed that so far as Western Asia was concerned, Khotan was the only province that felt the influence of India. Various are the spheres in which India exercised influence on not only the Asiatic but also European countries. It would be too tedious to describe it at any length here. The influence of Buddhism on the Jewish sects of the Therapeutæ and the Essenes and, above all, on Christianity about the beginning of the Christian era has been admitted by unbiassed European scholars. This Buddhist influence on the West became more intense and deeper when a Christian monk wrote the Book of *Barlaam and Joasaph* which was a most popular religious novel in all the Christian countries of the Middle Ages. Joasaph is the same as Judasaph, a misreading of Budasaph, that is, Bodhisattva. And this Bodhisattva, as we know, was canonised by the Roman Catholic Church. Such was the influence which Buddhism continued to exercise on Christianity. Again, it has been admitted by all scholars of repute that the fable literature of the world, which played and even plays such an important part in the education of the young men and has made its way to the remotest corners of Europe and America, owes its origin almost solely to the peculiar intellectual cast of the Hindu mind. Thus the original idea of conveying lessons of polity to a young prince in ethico-didactic poetry was typically Indian.

It may, however, be argued that in ancient times India may have developed a comparatively high order of civilisation and may have taken an important part in disseminating culture amongst her more or less barbarian neighbours. But what is her old civilisation as compared with that of modern Europe or America? Is there anything in her culture which has been adopted or at least is worth adopting by any people of the White Continents? The most effective way of answering this question is to show what Europeans themselves have thought of Hindu culture and civilisation. Perhaps the best European scholar, who has written about Sanskrit, Sanskrit literature, and Hindu religion, is Max Müller. More than forty years ago when he lectured to the candidates for the Indian Civil Service at the invitation of the Board of Historical Studies at Cambridge, what did he say about India? "Whatever sphere of the human mind," said he, "you may select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philosophy, whether it be laws or customs,......everywhere, you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India, and in India only."[1] Every one of these words is perfectly true. It is well-known that the Science of Language and Science of Religion are indebted for their entire development, if not exactly for their origin, to the study of Sanskrit and to the study of religious thought in India. For fear that an Indian is apt to overrate the culture of Ancient India, we allow Max Müller to speak for ourselves. "No country can be compared to India," says he, "as offering opportunities for real study of the genesis and growth of religion......What we can watch and study in India better than anywhere else is, how religious thought and religious language arise, how they gain force, how they spread, changing their forms as they pass from mouth to mouth, from mind to mind, yet always retaining some faint contiguity with the spring from which they rose at first. I do not think therefore that I am exaggerating when I say that the sacred books of India offer for a study of religion in general, and particularly for the study of the origin and growth of religion, the same peculiar and unexpected advantages which the language of India, Sanskrit, has offered for the study of the origin and growth of human speech." "It is no longer denied that for throwing light on some of the darkest problems that have to be solved by the student of language, nothing is so useful as a critical study of Sanskrit. I go further, even, and maintain that, in order to comprehend fully the ways and means adopted by other languages, nothing is more advantageous than to be able to contrast them with the proceedings of Sanskrit."[1]

---

[1] *India, What Can It Teach Us*, p. 15.

Take now Hindu Philosophy. Victor Cousin, perhaps the greatest historian of philosophy, is reported to have spoken as early as 1829 in the following terms: "When we read with attention the poetical and philosophical monuments of the East, above all, those of India which are beginning to spread in Europe, we discover there many a truth, and truths so profound, and which make such a contrast with the meanness of the results at which the European genius has sometimes stopped, that we are constrained to bend the knee before the philosophy of the East, and to see in this cradle of the human race the native land of the highest philosophy." In regard to the Upanishads, one of 'the noblest products of the religious consciousness of mankind,' the great German philosopher, Schopenhauer, says: "Oh! how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early grafted Jewish superstitions and of all philosophy that cringes before those superstitions. In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanisads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death." How grand and touching these words: "It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death." Most fervently did Max Müller also endorse these words, exclaiming: "If philosophy is meant to be a preparation for a happy death, or Euthanasia, I know of no better preparation for it than the Vedānta Philosophy."[1] The same thing may be said of the Bhagavadgītā, which also, like the Upanishads, has become part of what may be called world-literature. Charles Wilkins was the first to translate this into English in 1785. In the preface of this translation has been printed a letter to Nathaniel Smith by no less a politician than Warren Hastings who says that works like the Bhagavadgītā "will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance." The poem has been repeatedly rendered into English and German, and one German writer Wilhelm Von Humboldt pronounced it as "the profoundest and loftiest thing the world has ever seen" and remarked in a letter to his friend that when he first read it, he could not help thanking Providence for allowing him to remain alive to acquaint himself with this work.

---

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, 1878, pp. 131-2.

It may, however, be said that India is after all a nation of philosophers, and that it is no wonder if her philosophy has enthralled European thought. But is there anything in her secular literature, it may be asked, which has impressed or captured the European mind? I am afraid it would be too long and irksome for us to show in detail what influence Sanskrit literature has produced on the literary men of Europe. One or two instances therefore ought to suffice here. There is hardly any educated person in Europe who has not heard of the play of Śākuntala, the masterpiece of Kālidāsa. We know how the German poet, Goethe, began to cut capers when he first read it though in mere translation, and burst into joy, singing

---

[1] *The Vedānta Philosophy*, p. 8.

> Wouldst thou the young year's blossom and the fruit of its decline,
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,
> Wouldst thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combined
> I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all at once is said.

This immortal piece of Kālidāsa produced such a deep and indelible impression on the mind of Goethe that we are told that the prelude of Śākuntala suggested to him the plan of the prologue on the stage in Faust. All the dramas of Kālidāsa and the Mṛichhakaṭika of Śūdraka have been adapted to the European stage and many a time have attracted large audiences. Take, again, the Pañchatantra and Hitopadeśa which are studied even in England which is of a comparatively prosaic cast of mind. These Sanskrit works contain many *subhāshitas* or popular verses of intrinsic merit. One such verse describing this transient life has been translated into English verse as follows :

> And on the mighty ocean's waves
> Two floating logs together come,
> And having met for ever part :
> So briefly joined are living beings.

Who could have ever thought that these lines would impress the mind of an English poet ? And yet we find exactly the same thing reproduced by Matthew Arnold while feeling about his old love Marguerite, in his touching lines 'The Terrace at Berne,'

> Like driftwood spars, which meet and pass
> Upon the boundless ocean-plain,
> So on the sea of life, alas !
> Man meets man—meets, and quits again.

So, whether we take ancient times or modern times, we see that India has impressed not only her borderlands but also the Far East and the Far West. No impartial scholar or historian can ever say that Indian thought has not profoundly impressed Asia or Europe at all times. There can be no doubt that in the ancient period India was at once a teacher and a civiliser. And even at the present age and even to Europe and America which are no doubt in a way perched on the pinnacle of civilisation, the serious study of Indian thought and culture is imperatively necessary. Says Max Müller : "And if I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe—we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of the Greeks and the Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish—may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact, more truly human a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India." When such is the extreme importance of Hindu culture and civilisation even to a European, is it not sheer puerility and ignorance to ask, as some of our countrymen still ask, what good is it to study the history of India ? Those who ask this question seem to have no conception of the function of history. What do we expect a historian to teach us ? What ought a historian of India to tell us ? The obvious answer is that he ought to tell us how we have come to be what we actually are. He must tell us everything important about our antecedents, what blood courses through our veins, what bones form the rafters of our skulls, and what brain and nerves we have inherited from our forbears. If we ask an educated Englishman a similar question, he will at once tell us what debt he owes to his intellectual ancestors, whether in Greece, Rome, Germany or Palestine. But if we interpellate an Indian, he will tell us all this about the intellectual descent of a modern European, but knows almost nothing about his own intellectual and spiritual ancestry. Can we call such an Indian an educated man, a man who has received liberal education? Most certainly not. Nevertheless, it is perfectly true that most of our educated Indians are well-nigh ignorant of what ancient thoughts, what social institutions, what moral and religious impulses they have inherited from their predecessors, their forbears in India or outside. Of course, it is by no means intended thereby to convey that an educated Indian should encumber his mind with unnecessary, unessential, uninteresting details about Ancient India. He need not trouble himself about the date of Kanishka or the date of Bhāsa. This is the work of the Indian chronologist. What good is it to us to settle whether Dhruva of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family succeeded his father, Kṛishṇa, directly or by ousting his elder brother, Govinda II, or what was the name of the Kalachuri princess who was married to Vigrahapāla III. of the Pāla dynasty? Let the epigraphist or the chronicler decide it. How many types of coins, again, did Samudragupta issue is a matter which has absolutely no interest for us. Let the numismatist find it out. What we are really interested in is the enquiry about how and why we are what we are, what our intellectual and spiritual ancestry is. When we know who came before us and what they did for us, it is possible for us to determine what we have to do for those who will follow us. We should thus doubtless long to know how humanitarianism and cosmopolitanism have come to be the ideal of India; whether the Indian was from the first averse to political thought or activity, whether he ever developed any political concepts and practices, and, if so, what they were; whether they had institutions of a republican character, not simply in the political but also in the economic, social and religious spheres; whether a Hindu was always a Hindu by birth as he is at present, or whether ever he was a strong proselytiser like a Christian or a Muhammadan; whether pure unmixed Aryan blood runs into our veins or whether there are any foreign elements in the Hindu population; whether India has all along been an agricultural nation, with the foreigners largely carrying on trade and commerce, as she is reported to be, or whether she was also a manufacturing nation carrying on trade and commerce with the western as well as the eastern world; whether India ever made any attempts at colonising foreign land, and if so what they were; how caste, which is a barrier to the fusion of all classes and the formation of India as one nation, has arisen, and when it actually developed this obtrusive character; when the idea of the omnipresence or immanence of the Supreme Soul in the universe arose and how it has changed the whole vision of the Indian people, and so on, and so on, and so on. These and such questions are of paramount importance to every Indian, and if there is any Indian who has not thought about them, at any rate, knows nothing about them, he can scarcely be considered to have received liberal education. It is about these matters that the historian of Ancient India is to enlighten us. This alone will enable us to find out the port whence India started, the course she has followed, and also the port towards which she has now to steer.

We have just now ventured to assert that the Indian who has given no thought to these questions scarcely deserves to be called an educated man. But an educated Indian may well retaliate us by saying: "Talk you about these questions? There can be no doubt at all that these are most important matters about which every educated Indian ought to know something. But who is that historian of Ancient India that has discussed all these questions in one book? And if there is no book, at any rate, no single book which can enlighten us on these points, whose fault is it? Is it the fault of the educated Indian or of those who have specialised in the Ancient History of India?" This is the sort of mild friendly chiding which is likely to be heaped upon us. It cannot be denied there is some force in it. It must be admitted there is also some amount of truth in it. It is only recently that the Indians have turned their attention to the reconstruction of their history. It is only very recently that the Indian Universities have established Chairs in the subject in spite of the strong opposition they had to incur. How is it possible that these historians of Ancient India should be in a position to do anything substantial within such a short space of time? The History of Greece or the History of Rome cannot possibly be compared to the History of India. India is practically a continent, and far surpasses Rome or Greece in the extent of the area covered by it. Similarly, the period traversed by the history of India is of an enormously wider range both ways than that by the history of Greece or Rome. Sanskrit scholars have already done much by publishing important works of literature, philosophy and religion. The archæologists also have rendered us valuable services by discovering and publishing papers on inscriptions and coins and also by describing and exploring monuments of ancient Indian art and architecture. It is only now that we are in possession of sufficient materials for the reconstruction of our ancient History. And time, patience and want of any distraction are all that is required for digesting, collating and scrutinising them and embodying these results into a connected history. It must, however, be remembered that the historian of ancient India must be given a liberal allowance of time if the conclusions to be reached have to be of any permanent value. Above all, it must not be thought that the Sanskrit scholar or the Archæologist has completed his work. As a matter of fact, what work he has done is nothing as compared with the work that still remains to be done. What is the upshot of all this? If we want any history of Ancient India to be written, we must have Chairs not only in Ancient Indian History but Chairs also in Archæology, Sanskrit and Pali. A Chair in Indian History is absolutely necessary, and it is the supreme duty of every Indian University to create this Chair even though it may not be in a position to provide for Chairs in Science and Economics. Our motive may perhaps be suspected, and we may be even accused of seeing nothing beyond our own subject. But we do say that the matter should be decided by our countrymen from the viewpoint of an impartial dispassionate judge and not of an interested impassioned advocate. We respectfully ask: will anybody call an Indian—be he a science or an arts graduate—an educated man, if he has no knowledge of how India has come to be what she is, and is well-nigh ignorant of his intellectual and spiritual pedigree? If such a knowledge has not yet been available to him, is it not our supreme duty to make it so available before every other thing? How can India know what path she has now to traverse if she does not know what path she has already traversed and where and how she actually now stands? Our respectful request is: 'Suit the means to the end.'

D. R. BHANDARKAR

SOME ORIGINAL SOURCES FOR A BIOGRAPHY OF BEGAM SOMBRE[1]

[Begam Sombre of Sardhana—near Meerut—was a most prominent figure of the regime of Shah Alam II. She married Walter Reinhardt—*alias* Sombre, a German adventurer, and became a Roman Catholic. From a lowly position she rose to eminence as a warrior-princess and is still remembered for her extensive charities. Being without issue she adopted David Dyce, a Scotchman, as her heir around whom interesting history sprung up.]

The leading events of the famous Sardhana Princess Begam Sombre's life (c. 1752-1836) can be gleaned from Sleeman's *Rambles*, Francklin's *Sah-Alum*, Rev. Keegan's *Sardhana*, Atkinson's *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, and the *Military Memoirs* of George Thomas, who for some time, held the post of her principal military officer. We have also the accounts left by several European visitors to the Begam's Court—such as Major Archer, Thomas Bacon, Major Thorn, Capt. Mundy, Mrs. A Deane, etc.; but they have recorded mostly bazar-gossips and are reliable only when they describe the actual condition of the Sardhana Principality, and the Begam's mode of living and character. Later writers, *viz.*, Keene, Ballie Fraser (*Mily. Memoir of Lt.-Col. J. Skinner, C. B.*) and others—have largely drawn upon the sources mentioned above.

But a modern student of history cannot rest content unless he has access to the original contemporary sources of information for his subject. I have been engaged for some time in the compilation of an authoritative biography of Begam Sombre, and as a result of my labour, I have been able to unearth some valuable materials, as briefly described below:

---

* Read before the Historical Records Commission, held at Madras in January, 1924.

English.

(1). *Imperial Records:* The searches, conducted by me in the Imperial Record Office, revealed, at least, one hundred Political Consultations and Despatches to the Court of Directors between the years 1800 to 1839, having direct references to the Begam. A careful perusal of these documents compensated for my labour, as they throw a flood of light on her *jagir*, her administration, her private possessions, the exact strength of her army, duty detail, the annual income of her principality—the transit duties levied in her possessions both on land and water, her charitable bequests; the names, dates of entry, amounts etc., of those officers, relations and dependents who enjoyed her pensions or stipends, etc. etc. I have even been so fortunate as to have a look at a number of original letters from Her Highness, as well as from her adopted son and heir—Dyce Sombre. With these valuable materials it has become easy to construct the history of the latter part of her life.

(2). *Punjab Secretariat Records:* All letters, exchanged between the Begam and the Company, generally passed through the Resident at Delhi, who used to preserve copies of them in the Residency. After the Sepoy Mutiny it was found necessary to transfer all records in the Delhi Residency to the Punjab. After a prolonged search elsewhere I have at last been able to trace, among the records of the Punjab Secretariat, a copy of the Begam's Will; which is a very important document, giving full details of the disposition of her vast personal property. Attached to the will are stated to have been four "engagements or wills" but these I have not yet been able to get hold of.

I have reason to believe that further searches among the Secretariat records may lead to the discovery of more useful information.

(3). *Refutation:* The author of this rare book, Mr. Dyce Sombre, was the adopted son and heir to the Begam who had no issue. A couple of years after her death Dyce Sombre repaired to England and married the daughter of an English peer. Shortly after the marriage a commission of lunacy was taken out against him, and in order to escape the effects of this commission, Dyce Sombre secretly fled to Paris, where in August, 1849, he published this voluminous book of 582 pages.

In some respects this book is an invaluable help to every student of the Begam's biography as it contains such valuable documents as her Will, her Deed of Gift, her Agreement with the Company, an account of her personal landed property and its income, and several other important matters. There are in it copies of a considerable number of the E. I. Co.'s Despatches which I could not trace even in the Imperial Record Office.

In the foot-note to page 334 of his book, Dyce Sombre writes :—"Some notes I had made of Her late Highness the Begam's memoirs with some intention of publishing them hereafter, and which I had collected with great care; but unfortunately they were taken away from me with some other papers." It is highly prabable that this Ms. diary written on loose sheets of paper may be found preserved somewhere in England, and if they are traced they will no doubt bring to light many important facts relating to her life.

Marathi.

Delhi Ethil Marathachin Rajakaranen :—Hingané and other Maratha envoys of the Peshwas used to reside at Delhi permanently. The Despatches, forwarded by them to their masters from time to time, have been collected and published by Rao Bahadur D.B. Parasnis. The letters of these writers, conversant as they were with contemporary events, are of great help in composing a history of Upper India as it was at that time. The Maratha power was then dominant in Hindusthan and the value of these Marathi papers cannot be denied.

These news-letters disclose the cause which led to the resignation of the Irishman Geo. Thomas, the General of the Begam. The deliverance by Her Highness of Col. Stuart of the British army from the hands of the Sikhs by offering them a handsome ransom, and such other important matters which go to show that she was a leading political personage of the age.

Persian.

(1). *Ibratnama* (Prof. Sarkar Pers. Ms.): The author, Fakir Khair-ud-din Muhammad, was a contemporary with the Begam. He was an influential official and a constant companion of Mirza Jahandar (Prince) Jawan Bakht, the son of Shah Alam II. Khair-ud-din was an eye-witness of several of the occurences described in his work.

A detailed description of the fruitless attempt of the Prince Jawan Bakht to liberate the Emperor from the clutches of the Marathas is given in this work. In this matter the author was sent by the Prince as his supreme minister to negotiate with Begam Sombre, who promised to espouse this noble cause. The *Ibratnama* also describes in detail how the spirited exertions of the Begam in defence of the king's authority scared away the rebel Ghulam Qadir, the Rohilla ruler of Saharanpore (1787); how the valiant lady with the assistance of her European drilled battalion rescued the imbecile monarch from imminent destruction before the walls of Gokulgarh, then held by a refractory chief named Najaf Quli Khan (1788).

(2). *Waqia-i-Shah Alam Sani* (Prof. Sarkar Pers. Ms.): This is a diary of events kept from day to day. There are many gaps in it but from what is left of the manuscript we find a brief recital of the events from 1739 to 1799 *i.e.*, from the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah to the eve of the British entry into Delhi under Lord Lake. The writer was an inhabitant of the city, and his work is an absolutely contemporary chronicle of the events and rumours of Delhi.

From this Persian Ms. we come to know of sundry matters in relation to the Begam's life.

(3). A biography of the Begam written in Persian verse will be found in the British Museum (Dr. Rieu's *B. M. Cat. of Pers. Ms.* ii. 724*a*, Add. 25830). It was composed by Lala Gokul Chand, the *Khas Munshi* of the Begam, in 1824. The author writes to say that he thought it necessary to compose this book as the biography of the Begam in prose by *Munshi* Jai Singh Rai had been lost. I had a facsimile taken by rotary process of the first four pages of this manuscript, but this portion reveals nothing of any historical interest. We should not, however, pronounce a judgment on it before examining the remainder of the Ms.

In conclusion, I would be glad and grateful for any historical information sent to me regarding the life of Begam Sombre as a help in my attempt to keep back from oblivion the memory of a wonderful woman who played no inconspicuous part in the later history of India. *

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

---

* I shall be thankful if any reader informs me where I can consult the following books which I have not yet been able to read :—

(*a*) "A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindustan between the years of 1804 and 1814" by A.D. (Mrs. A. Deane), London 1823.

(*b*) *The Heirs of Dyce Sombre vs. the Indian Government.* The History of a suit during thirty years between a private individual and the Government of India. Westminister, 1865,8°.

(*c*) Sombre (*Hon.* Mary Ann Dyce). Afterwards Forester (Mary Ann). *Barones Forester.* In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Dyce Sombre against Troup, Solaroli intervening, and Prinsep, and the Hon. East India Company, also intervening. In the goods of D. O. Dyce Sombre......deceased. Scripts—pleadings—answers—interrogatories—minutes—and exhibits. (Depositions of witnesses). 2 vols. 8° [Privately printed] London [1855 ?]

(*d*) Mr. T. C. Plowden's *Settlement Report of Meerut District, 1840,*

Reviews

Wit, Humour and Fancy of Persia: by M. N. Kuka, M.A., Bombay, 1923—Mr. Kuka is to be congratulated on his successful accomplishment of his great and ambitious task of making a judicious, tasteful and comprehensive collection of the achievements of Persian wit and humour. Wit and humour have always been notable aspects of the heredity of the Persian; but there have been historical factors which have sharpened and lent an additional edge to these national qualities. One of the main tasks of the poets from whom Mr. Kuka has drawn so much of his rich material was to amuse their royal patrons and to relieve them of the *ennui* of their luxurious lives. Thus the poet Anwari boasts to his patron of his great accomplishments as a courtier—his powers of satire and repartee, his knowledge of verse as well as of his skill in chess and backgammon. Such equipments were paraded and shown off with a view to secure patronage and rewards, and Anwari assured his patron very naively that "you need have no fear of being bored." The patrons were on their part always anxious to test such powers and were constantly striving to provoke contests of wit and sarcasm. When the royal bounty showed signs of flagging the poets employed their powers of satire and wit to wring more money out of the patron. Conflicts of wit and satire were constantly being recorded and in the classical age of Persian literature Adib Sabir and Rashid Watwat, 'Amaq of Bukhara and Suzani' figured as notable protagonists in such combats. Indeed with his learning Mr. Kuka might have given us a history of Persia illuminated by such scintillations of wit.

Mr. Kuka is admirably qualified and equipped for his task. We would place first the happy circumstance that he was privileged to be a pupil of the late Prof. Hairat—the embodiment not only of Persian wit and humour but of monumental learning. We have always thought that the following lines of Hafiz would have formed the best epitaph of that great scholar:

> "*Raft an kas ke chu oo jan-i-sukhan kas nashanakht*
> *Man hami deedam o az kalbudam jan mi-raft*
> *Guftam aknun sukhan-i-khush ke baguyad ba ma*
> *Kan shakar lahja-i khush-gooye sukhan-dan mi-raft.*"

Fortunately, his teaching has borne fruit in giving us such a writer as Mr. Kuka who has pursued his work in Persian literature for many years.

Nor is he devoid of the gift of good versification; and he is the true successor of writers like Lutfali Khan Azar who have added their own compositions to their anthologies. Mr. Kuka's own performances in the poetic line are very creditable indeed as was to be expected from a person of his wide reading and literary taste.

Only those who have themselves conducted investigations on similar lines in Persian literature can appreciate fully the range of the author's reading and research. Not only the classics of Persia but a great number of Indian poets who wrote in Persian have been laid under contribution. In fact, the work is a very comprehensive one. A further commendable feature to be noted is the excellence of the English translations and exposition. The first chapter is taken up with anecdotes of poets and princes and this is in our opinion the finest in the book and one which is likely to attract the reader most. This is followed by several chapters of humorous selections. Then comes a chapter on Satires and Epigrams where also an immense range of material has been brought together. In the next section on humorous stories we have excellent contributions from Roomee, Jami and other poets. The reader who is fond of literary ingenuity will revel in the Enigmas and riddles which have special chapters devoted to them, and there he will be introduced to Sharafuddin Ali-Yazdi and other masters of this sort of composition. Apart from the skill of compositon and solution the chapters throw a light on the subtlety of Persian mentality. Mr. Kuka's powers of exposition are also at their best here. The ingenious artifices adopted by the poets are extemely difficult to imitate in English and this must be the special characteristic of all verse which depends for its beauty on the form than on the idea. Mr. Kuka has, however, done the best that could be and has besides making creditable efforts to reproduce the artifices in English, always given such full explanations as to put the reader in almost the same position as if he understood the original.

We must conclude by hoping that every one interested in Persian literature and nation will read Mr. Kuka's book. Out of a vast number of anecdotes and *bon mots* has constructed a work which will be sure of wide appreciation. We shall take leave of him by applying to him and his book a piece of Persian wit and humour which is the more appropriated in that Mr. Kuka is himself a Parsi:

" Mughan ke dana-e angur ab mi sazand
Sitara mi shikanand aftab mi sazand."

By a series of specimens artistically arranged in proper perspective, the author has placed before us the genius of Persian wit and humour in its full amplitude.

J. C. C.

The Indian Fiscal Problem, by J C. Coyajee, Member, Indian Fiscal Commission, Professor of Economics in Presidency College, Calcutta: published by Patna University, 1924.

The labours of the Indian Fiscal Commission have resulted in the ennunciation of a set of principles by which the Indian Tariff Board—itself the outcome of the recommendations of that body will be guided in its quasi- judicial task of adjudicating upon the claims of different industries to protection. The distinguished author of the book under review was a member of that Commission in which he brought to bear his wide theoretical knowledge upon some of the complicated problems of Indian fiscal policy. It is seldom that an academician gets an opportunity of coming into close touch with the realities of life and one of those rare opportunities presented itself to the author. He has utilised this in an abundant measure in restating in a scientific form India's claim to Protection, in a series of 7 lectures delivered during 1923-1924 as the Banaili Reader in Indian Economics of the Patna University.

Appropriately enough he begins by pointing out the difficulties in the way of new industrial ventures—difficulties which have increased the scope and importance of the infant industry argument for Protection. The growth of massive production, the massive treatment of byproducts, development of integrations, the granting of open or concealed export bounties have strengthened the theoretic validity of Protectionism in a manner never dreamt of by Mill and List. As the author says "Had they (*Mill and List*) lived to-day they would have been even more convinced advocates of the theory of protection to young industries." The diversification of industry argument for Protection is formulated by a very pertinent quotation from List—"It is possible for a nation to possess too many philosophers, philologers and literate too skilled artisans"—words whose application to Indian conditions is patent to all. His views on protection are those of the majority of the members of the Fiscal Commission. He is an advocate of "discriminating protection" which is defined as protection based upon and guided by the principle of comparative cost (p. 24). There is a tendency in some quarters to denounce the advocates of discriminating protection as free traders but to do so is to display a lack of knowledge of the underlying principles of international trade. "The doctrine of comparative cost" as Adams remarks "does not as many seem to assume, hold peculiar relations to the theory of free trade; the truth is that nothing but its application can rescue a system of protective duties from becoming an unintelligible mass of unrelated rates." (quoted on p. 30).

The chapter on the Verdict of the Economists containing an exposition of the views of English, Continental and American authors like Marshall, Leroy Beanlieu, Schuller and Taussig shows that there is no dispute among the great masters of economic thought regarding the theoretic validity of Protection as applied to a young industry and particularly to a young country like India just beginning to make use of the boundless resources with which nature has endowed her. The case for extending protection to some infant industries of Indian has been studied with an open and unprejudiced mind. It is interesting to note that the author considers a moderate import duty coupled with a bounty as the most suitable way of affording encouragement to a basic industry like steel.

The author treats the problem of Imperial preference with the same temperate judgment which characterises the whole of the book. He is not in sympathy with those who advocate that all the sacrifices should be made by India and that all the advantages should be appropriated by Great Britain. Hence it is that he rightly insists upon a policy of Imperial Reciprocity—a policy of *quid pro quo*, of commercial agreements based upon the free will of the contracting parties. It is quite true, as the author says, that, countries like India exporting raw materials have the whip hand of those dependent upon their exports of manufactures; but in view of actual and potential competition from the new colonies and protectorates even India cannot overlook the importance of commercial agreements.

Prof. Coyajee deserves well of the academic and the business worlds for presenting the fundamental features of India's fiscal problem in a clear and forceful manner. The scientific, hence the balanced and non-partisan character of his views will, it is feared, please neither the doctrinaire free-trader nor the dogmatic protectionist but this fact will prove more than ever that the learned professor is in the right. We await with eagerness his promised publication on tariff making in theory and practice.

'ECONOMICS.'

Ourselves

THE HON'BLE MR. B. N. BASU.

We rejoice to find that our Vice-Chancellor has been appointed a member of the Bengal Executive Council in the vacancy due to the retirement of the Maharaja of Burdwan by reason of effluxion of time. The authorities are to be congratulated on their decision in this matter. The ability, judgment and experience of Mr. Basu will make him a valuable asset to the Government in these strenuous days; and we trust Providence will give him health and strength to enable him to discharge his duties in this new sphere for the benefit of the country.

* * *

PROFESSOR C. V. RAMAN.

Professor Raman has been awarded by the University one of the Sir Rashbehari Ghose Travelling Fellowships and has been deputed to attend the ensuing session of the British Association for the Advancement of Science which will meet at Toronto in Canada in September next. Professor Raman is to take part in a discussion on the Molecular Theory of Light with special reference to the colour of the sea and the colour of the sky which has so deservedly brought his name into prominence. Professor Raman will also study recent methods of research in higher Physics in Canada and in the United States.

* * *

DR. BIMALACHARAN LAW.

Our congratulations to Mr. Bimalacharan Law who has just been approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The Board of Examiners consisted of Professor Sylvain Levi (Paris), Dr. E. J. Rapson (Cambridge) and Dr. Benimadhàv Barua (Calcutta). Dr. Law is the author of several important works including "Ksatriya Clans in Buddhist India," "Historical Gleanings," "The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa," "The Buddhist Conception of Spirits and Designation of Human Types." His main thesis for the Doctorate was on "The History of Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India."

* * *

UNIVERSITIES CONFERENCE.

The Universities Conference will assemble at Simla on the 19th May, 1924. His Excellency the Viceroy will open the Conference. Our readers will recollect (Vol. IX, page 516) that this University had forwarded the names of seven persons as representatives. The Government of India have, however, fixed the maximum number of representatives for a single University at five. The Syndicate have, consequently, been obliged to revise the list of representatives and the following delegates have been finally selected:

1. The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, M.A., B.L.
2. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D.
3. Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
4. Mr. Herambachandra Maitra, M.A.
5. Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt.

The scope of discussion before the Conference may be gathered from the following programme which has been provisionally issued by the Education Department:

A. INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

The lessons of recent experience on the following subjects :—

i. The appointment and conditions of service of wholetime University teachers (Professors, Readers, Lecturers, etc.)

ii. The work of Academic Councils and their relationship to other constituent bodies of the University.

iii. University Training Corps.

B. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

The conditions of admission of Indian students to Universities in Great Britain with special reference to the new regulations of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge with regard to senior and junior students and the Lytton Committee Report.

iv. The effect of the new regulations of Oxford and Cambridge.

v. The substitution of University Bureaux for Students' Advisory Committees (paragraph 89 of Lytton Committee Report).

vi. The possibility and desirability of establishing a central bureau in India (paragraph 89 of Lytton Committee Report).

vii. The agency required in England (paragraph 92 of Lytton Committee Report).

viii. The policy of subsidising private charitable agencies for students in Great Britain (paragraph 96 of Lytton Committee Report).

C. INTER-UNIVERSITY CO-OPERATION.

ix. Mutual help in the circulation and exchange of Library books and literature.

x. The possibility of co-operation in research work and the issue of a common journal of Indian Research.

xi. The possibility of specialisation by different Universities in special branches of study with a view to :—

xii. the development of a self-contained system of University and higher professional and technological education in India up to the highest standard,

xiii. the equivalence of Indian degrees and diplomas and their recognition in the United Kingdom.

xiv. Other forms of reciprocity and co-operation.

* * *

THE LATE DR. ANNANDALE.

We deeply regret to record the premature death of Dr. Annandale, Director of the Zoological Survey of India, whose election to a fellowship of the Royal Society was noticed in these pages recently (Vol. X, p. 628). He had not been in robust health and was taken ill early last month. He died at a Nursing Home in Calcutta on the morning of Thursday, the 10th April; the cause of death was stated to be gastroduodenal ulcer with malarial complications.

"Dr. Annandale, who was educated at Rugby, Edinburgh University, and Balliol College, Oxford, was the eldest son of the late Prof. Thomas Annandale, F.R.C.S., and was unmarried. Travelled in the Malay Peninsula, 1899, 1901-2 and 1916; was Research Fellow in Anthropology in the University of Edinburgh, 1902-4, and investigated the fauna of the Sea of Galilee, 1912.

He was also a corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London and the Natural History Society of Saratow. He was a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Superintendent of the Indian Museum and Secretary to the Trustees 1906-16."

"He was unrivalled in India as a systematist, with a remarkable enthusiasm for zoology. In the last administration report of the Zoological Survey of India, he stated that this science would keep him engaged for the remainder of his life, though he pointed out that too much office work retarded the progress of the scientist, and that there were only a handful of enthusiasts whose field of work was the vast Indian Peninsula. In "Nature" it was remarked a month ago that the work done by the Zoological Survey of India was extensive and would materially benefit scientists conducting work in Europe. The journal regretted that the Government of India did not sufficiently encourage the Department and that money could not be found for enquiry into insects and pests that destroyed many human lives. 'Nature' hinted that Europe wanted with avidity any information about animals in India, mosquito to tiger.

"Dr. Annandale had the saitsfaction of seeing his fame established in the binominal nomenclature of new species described by him, as "Spongilla annandalia," etc. Starting with his reputation as an anthropologist, he rapidly made strides in the field of zoology, and India, being rich in specimens, played an important part in the conversion. Lord Clive was the first European in India to be F. R. S., for survey investigations and researches into philology. Between Clive and Annandale only a handful have similarly been honoured in India, including Lord Curzon and Sir Ronald Ross.

"Dr. Annandale's investigations of structure and ethnology of the Parazzoa of Indian fresh waters are embodied as 'Freshwater Sponges, Polyzoa, Hydroids,' in the Fauna of British India.

"A number of venomous snakes were collected by Dr. Annandale from different parts of India and have been very carefully preserved by the 'wet method' and they have been installed in a large room in the Indian Museum not open to the public. The collection is a valuable one and shows a number of varieties of Indian snakes. Sharks and Rays of good size have been collected by Dr. Annandale and may be seen in the fish galleries. His recent collections of molluscs as carriers of Bilharzia have been photographed and preserved. Bilharzia is a a dreadful worm that causes a disease in the human subject known as Bilharziasis. He was, just before his death, almost exclusively engrossed in the taxonomy of Indian Mollusca The Indian Museum was being enriched by vast collections of marine and freshwater molluscs from different parts of India. There was also an old collection of Indian sponges, molluscoids, and coelenterates made by Dr. Annandale.

"Dr. Annandale was the second F. R. S. zoologist in India, the first having been Prof. Dr. Imms, F.R.S., D.Sc., etc., of Muir Central College, who constructed and organised the magnificent zoological laboratories, museum, preserving rooms and tanks and library of the Muir College at Allahabad. Dr. Annandale's reputation chiefly rests upon his calibre as a 'field zoologist,' just as Dr. Woodland and Dr. Karamnarayan Bahl's fame rests absolutely upon their wonderful capacity as 'laboratory zoologists.'

"Dr Annandale's observations on coelenterates undergoing modifications of a very peculiar and interesting nature, due to a change in the salinity of the water they live in, are charming. He says:—'A much richer fauna exists in ponds and lakes in the neighbourhood of the rivers and estuaries than in running water. Three species of polyzona and three of sponges found in running water in India, have also been found in lakes and ponds." He writes of a tiny fish (*Gobius alcoekii*) that lays its eggs inside the oscula of an Indian freshwater sponge named *Spongilla carteri*. Dr. Annandale has gone so far as to assert that freshwater sponges in India, chiefly Bengal, play a part in purifying the tank and jheel waters by ingesting debris. Thus we see that even the stationary animals (the sponges) are of some economic importance. Little was known about Indian freshwater sponges before Dr. Annandale worked on them, tracing nearly everything relating to the sponge. He writes, " One of the pioneers in the scientific study of the freshwater forms was the late Dr. H. J. Carter, who commenced his investigations, and carried out a great part of them, in Bombay with little of the apparatus now considered necessary, and with a microscope that must have been grossly defective according to modern ideas. Even his earlier mistakes are instructive, for they are due not so much to actual errors in observation as to a faithful transcription of what was observed with faulty apparatus.'

" As a consequence of extensive study of the freshwater fauna of Bengal, Dr. Annandale remarks, ' Considerable specific idiosyncrasy exists as regards the biology of the sponges, hydroids, and polyzoa of stagnant water in Bengal.'

" As a result of his survey Dr. Annandale writes, ' The fauna of ponds of Port Canning includes freshwater sponges, aquatic insects (mosquito larvæ, and larvæ of Chironomous, beetles, Rhynchota), worms (*e.g.*, the Gephyrean Physcosoma lurco).'

" As a taxonomist Dr. Annandale writes, ' " What characters are of systematic importance ? ' is a question to which different answers must be given in the case of different groups.' This shows that no generalisation can be made in the complicated science of taxonomy, since each group of animals is characterised by a distinctive and specific trait.

" In his work on sponges Dr. Annandale discusses with great care the seasonal variation of sponges, their variation due directly to environment, and their variation without apparent cause, as regards the shape, size and proportions of their spicules in species of Euspongilla and Ephydatia. Dr. Annandale has thrown little light on the method of nutrition of freshwater sponges, and the subject still remains a mystery. But he has made valuable observations upon the generation of sponges in Indian waters. He says, ' No animal is known that devours sponges bodily, but a midge larva (Tanypus) and certain worms bore through the parenchyma of sponges. The most active and obvious enemy of sponges is a plant, not an animal,—a filamentous alga to wit—that blocks up their canals by its rapid growth.'

" Amongst his many accomplishments was an intimate acquaintance with Eastern magic, and he made use of this knowledge to impart into his conversation and even sometimes into his conduct a delightful element of humour and whimsicality. Men of great scientific attainments are often very simple and transparent in their character, but the special charm of Dr. Annandale's simplicity was that it was not that of an adult but of a child. Before strangers, for instance, he would affect to believe in the charms and incantations he had at his command, hoping to shock them in the way that a schoolboy sometimes considers legitimate when dealing with maiden aunts. When he considered he had succeeded his delight was so natural that it infected even those whom he had tricked. But there was never anything ill-natured in Dr. Annandale's outlook, nor was the humour which he imported into almost everything he did or said ever of the ruder or more primitive kind. The word 'sprite,' which the dictionaries tell us is the same as 'spright,' describes him very accurately. He was always brisk and gay. When asked by what means he managed to cultivate so persistent a joyousness in a climate like that of Bengal he would reply that he had obtained a charm from the Malays.

"Very typical of Dr. Annandale was the trouble he took to acquire a specimen of the magical art of Tibet for the Indian Museum. Profiting by the Tibetan knowledge of the learned Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he imported a real Tibetan magician, who was set to weave a cobweb of the rare kind that is set before some Tibetan monasteries. Devils, they say, like these cobwebs provided they are correctly prepared, and will desert monasteries in order to live in them. It was Dr. Annandale's hope that the devils in the Museum would desert the galleries for his new cobweb which was made of the stoutest materials in order to secure the stoutest possible devils!"

"Dr. Annandale was a man possessed of many qualities of head and heart. His private life was simple in the extreme, but full of charm and sweetness rarely found in combination. He was a delightful companion in spite of his frail health. Though he was a born scientist, it was more as a gentleman that he impressed everybody. Always obliging in the extreme, he was ready to sacrifice himself for others. Almost his last words were an expression of his anxiety for the convenience of people with whom he had some engagements during the next few days.

His detached outlook on life and his great concern for the advancement of science in India impressed everyone who came in contact with him. He was of a most charitable disposition, but was careful not to advertise his munificence. A kindly official, a delightful colleague and an excellent friend, he will be mourned and missed by all who knew him."

* * *

STUDY OF MARATHA HISTORY.

We give below a translation of a review written by Prof. Jules Bloch and published in the *Journal Asiatique* :

" The University of Calcutta by undertaking the publication of these two volumes[1] shows the esteem acquired all over India by the writings of a group of Maratha historians of whom Rajwade and Sarkar are the best known representatives. Siva Chhatrapati, *i.e.*, Shivaji is the hero of the Sabhasad Chronicle of which Mr. Sen gives the complete translation together with extracts from other chronicles. Sabhasad who wrote 16 years after his hero's death (1680) is the first of the biographers of Shivaji, it is also the most useful and serious. Written in an unadorned and terse style, it contains something besides the elements of an epical kind, *e.g.*, genealogies and short speeches, it speaks of adventures, battles, strange and cruel stratagems, stories of false ambassadors and secret emissaries, interviews to which one goes with secret arms, where one embraces and tries to strangle the other, surprises and escapes in fruit baskets. Interspersed with these informations we find accounts of administration and finances, we note the dominant role of the Brahmins which partly explains Shivaji's popularity, the constant intervention and appearances of Bhavani, his family goddess, the originator of his most universal schemes, the importance given to the coronation ceremony, the predominance of Sanscrit words in the administrative phraseology—hitherto Marathi or Persian and, lastly, the great scene of his death accompanied with rites and prophecies and the grand discourse in which the hero predicts the future.

The work is naturally partial, because the bakhars are not disinterested historical works and often contradict themselves or contradict other sources. So the works have to be thoroughly compared with each other, especially as Shivaji is not merely the leader of brigands, he is the founder of an empire, though transitory, and a national hero. As early as 1826, Grant Duff had written a history of the Marathas by making use of the Satara archives, but in addition to the fact, which Mr. Sen suspects, that several documents were forged to please Duff, he was interested more in the adventures of Shivaji than in his work. Mr. Ranade, in his "Rise of Maratha Power" was the first to show how "like Napoleon he had in a reign of 35 years not only founded a kingdom but created a nation." It is the work of Mr. Ranade which Mr. Sen wishes to continue in his Administrative System. His study distinguishes two periods very unequally represented by documents; for Shivaji's time we have the chronicles and some rare diplomatic documents; for the times of the Peshwas there are administrative documents by thousands. The periods are, moreover, dissimilar in themselves. Shivaji imposes his personal power on the Maratha feudality, for the old chieftains he substitutes or superimposes officials appointed directly by him, who are not hereditary and who could not themselves choose their subordinates. These officials are both soldiers and administrators. Mr. Sen does not try to hide the real nature of Shivaji's power which is above all based on conquest. If he sets up a land tax according to the old Mohamedan system, he knows that his country is too poor to maintain his army, it is the quarter of the revenue taken from the conquered or protected territories which nourishes the army. On this point Mr. Sen does not hesitate to contradict Ranade who wanted to see in this institution an exchange of services and not a mere contribution of war. But Shivaji had no time to regularise or stabilise his system. The personal character of his successors so deteriorated that they became mere figureheads, the suzerainty of Delhi was recognized, the Maratha country fell under the power of a disunited confederation of ambitious feudal nobles and the authority of the Peshwa was limited to his own territory.

---

[1] "Siva Chhatrapati" and "Administrative System of the Marathas."

The institutions themselves which Mr. Sen studies are ill assorted in their origin and the second part of his book is devoted to prove this. The general framework of the State, the Municipal system and justice are particularly Hindu, the army is modelled on the Mongol army, the taxation system is mixed or rather traditional and commanded by local conditions. We find here several interesting comparisons, for example, with Kautilya (although it is incorrect to place the date of Kautilya at 300 B.C., p. 426, and to state 'that nobody has ever denied or even expressed a doubt on the antiquity of Arthasastra,' p. 434), with epigraphy, p. 519 f.

Thus, in reality, there are two subjects treated in this book and each of the two subjects in the two periods which do not harmonise with each other. Hence these results a sort of awkwardness in the plan of the book which is partly got over by an index which one wishes to be fuller. Taking everything into account this volume is tantamount to a manual of institutions—very detailed and well prepared. That is to say, that in spite of imperfections which may be pointed out, it is a solid and important contribution, which does honour to the author and to the school to which he belongs."

* * *

DR. GHOSHAL ON HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES.

"The fortunate discovery by Mr. R. Shamasastry of the Kautiliya Arthasastra has evoked in India a steadily increasing interest in the history of political science and to it we owe these two new works of substantial value (History of Hindu Political Theories by U. Ghosal, Les Theories Diplomatiques de L'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthasastra, Par Kalidas Nag).

The question of date does not essentially affect the interest of the Arthasastra, the true character of which is in the main excellently judged by Dr. Ghoshal. He justly rejects the theory of G. B. Bottazzi which ascribes to the text the doctrine that the king is the creation of a social or rather governmental contract alone and that his sacred character is derived from the authority thus conferred upon him by the people. In point of fact the Arthasastra is neither novel nor thorough in its explanation of kingship; it combines in the normal Indian manner the conceptions of a governmental contract between subjects and ruler, as a mode of emerging from anarchy, with that of the divinity of the king as the counterpart on earth of Indra, king of the gods and Yama, the god who punishes men after death. But it stands apart from Indian literature generally in its frank disregard of morality in the interest of the king's efforts to secure himself in power against internal disturbances and to extend his power over surrounding princes. The knowledge shown of the baser motives which move men, and the ingenuity of the methods suggested to subserve the selfish aims of the prince certainly justify comparison with Machiavelli, despite fundamental differences which Dr. Ghoshal rightly points out. But the most interesting thing is the comparison of the realistic outlook of the Arthasastra with the vague moral precepts and pious generalities which figure in the normal accounts of the duties of royalty in the Dharmasutras or Dharmasastras such as the famous work of Manu............It is characteristic also of the doctrine of the divinity of kings in India that it never took the form of a hereditary divine right centred in a single family; the commentators indeed, expressly assert that the divinity of a king applies to every ruler even if he is not of the warrior caste; a view which Dr. Ghoshal ingeniously connects with the growth of the Rajput principalities in which, as we now know, the rulers were often of foreign extraction and had no claims to rank as real Kshatriyas."—Prof. A. B. Keith in *English Historical Review.*

* * *

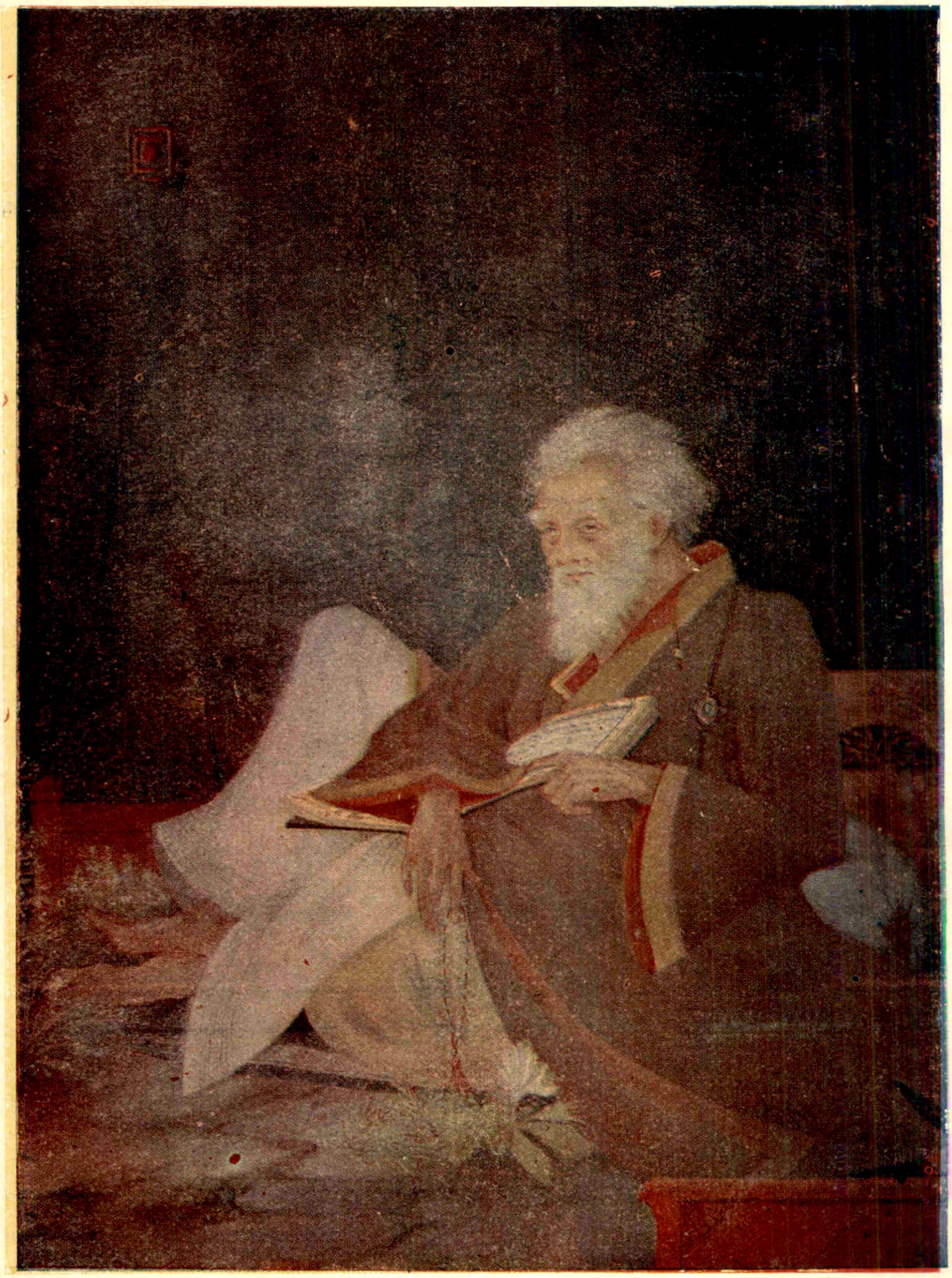
"It used to be said that the Hindus had no political history and no interest in political science. The discovery in the first decade of this century of the Kautiliya Arthasastra, the oldest and most important of Hindu text books on polity, has done much to dispel that illusion. Even without that book there is abundant evidence of interest in practical statecraft in ancient India. It must, however, be admitted that practical statecraft interested the Hindus much more than political theory. We search in vain for any comprehensive unified systematic attempt to construct a theory of the state, comparable on the one hand with Western political philosophies and on the other hand with the cosmo-religious philosophies of India. Yet we do find, all in all, many tentative, if abortive, starts towards such theories. It was certainly worth while to collect all such stray hints within the covers of one book. This has been done on the whole very adequately, in the book under review. The author is well trained in both Hindu and Occidental learning. He criticizes sanely the comparisons that have been made between Western political theories and those of India; his attitude towards such comparisons is, generally speaking, reserved or even sceptical. The so-called social compact theory of the origin of the state, as it appears in India, is shown to be only superficially similar to its Western analogue. And so with other theories, such as the "divine right of kings," the differences between India and the West are perhaps more profound than the resemblances.

The book can be recommended to western students of political theory as a sane interpretation, from the historical and comparative standpoint, of what the ancient Hindus accomplished in that field......................."
—Mr. Franklin Edgerton in *American Historical Review.*

* * *

"Max-Muller's dictum that India has no place in the political history of the world because it was wholly absorbed in other worldly matters, has been shown by recent discoveries to be somewhat exaggerated. It is well to have gathered within the pages of one book the scattered evidences of political speculation in ancient Hindu literature. The book here noticed is a meritorious attempt in that direction. It leaves on the reader the impression that after all the speculative genius of the Hindus paid little attention to political matters. Such works as the now famous Kautiliya Arthasastra are mainly realistic treatises on the art of government and have little to say about theories of the state. And while suggestions of such theories—of various sorts—are found in both Brahmanical and Buddhist works, they appear only incidentally as stray hints and offhand guesses, rather than as anything approaching systematic speculations. In some later works of the commentary class we find perhaps attempts at political theorizing; but even they never acquire anything like the well-rounded outlines of Greek and European theorists. Our author brings out very sanely the fundamental differences between what have been called the Hindu theories of the 'social contract' and the 'divine right of kings' and their European analogues. Despite some superficial resemblances he seems to be quite right in maintaining that to emphasize the analogies is more apt to be misleading than helpful."—*Journal of the American Oriental Society—Oct. 1923.*

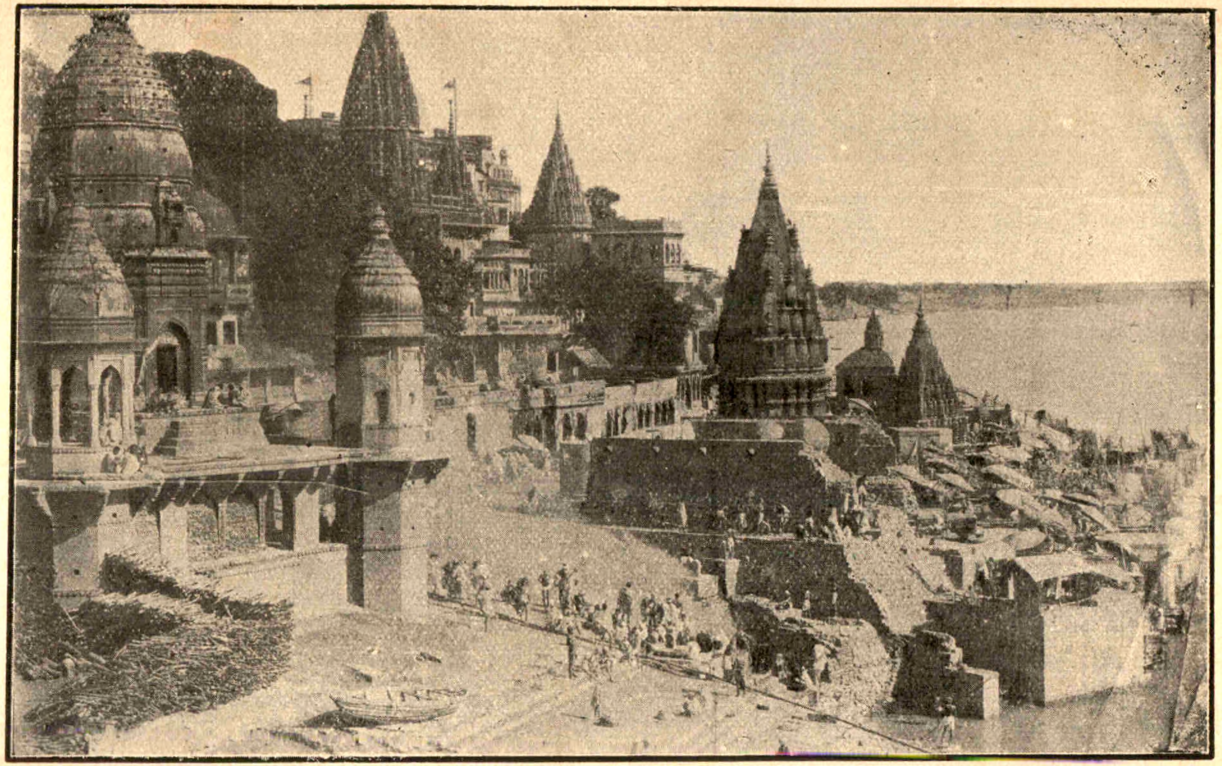
POST GRADUATE COUNCIL IN ARTS
LENDING LIBRARY
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



"WHEN MEMORY'S CHAINS BIND HIM DOWN"

By courtesy of Bangabani

Artist—Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury



BENARES

POST GRADUATE COUNCIL IN ARTS
LENDING LIBRARY
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1924

THE WILLOW TREE

First Traveller—

The sunset fire burns in the forest, down the stream.

Second Traveller—

The birds hurry to nest and peace.

Third Traveller—

The wind changes its note, with the evening bell.

Fourth Traveller—

Oh, boatman, take us quickly over to the other shore as we have yet to seek a place of sleep.

Fifth Traveller—

Friends, wait, let us take with us the mad woman who dances and sings.

(*The mad woman with a branch of flowers in her hand enters. Her hair is much dishevelled. Her whole attitude is like a straying summer cloud.*)

The Woman—

Say not I am mad, though I am; pity me, think of the reason I have become mad; who would not turn mad at the sudden loss of her child? My heart was light and gay like the laughter of spring morn, before the bad man of the North came one day and robbed my son away. (Oh, North, whence come the bitter wind and frost only to kill the joy and flowers of the life and land!) It is now half a year since my lonely heart suddenly became dark from sighs and cries; and I wandered toward the North, toward the only North, over five hundred miles, (Oh, it was the bad man of the North who robbed my son away!) thinking I might see again, by strange chance, my boy lost. Often I thought I heard his laughter in the street; I approached the children in play only to be disappointed, to make me sadder still; it was the shadow of a cloud when I thought I saw his own upon the grass; it was the stream that cruelly played upon me in imitation of his voice. Friends, say not I am mad, only pity me, pity me!

All the Travellers—

What a sad story!

(*The travellers and the woman get in the boat. The boat leaves the bank. It is already dark. An unusual bell is heard from the other bank; it again rings out.*)

First Traveller—

Boatman, what bell is that we hear?

Boatman—

Traveller, it is to announce the holy service to be held on the bank.

Second Traveller—

On the bank, thou sayest?

Boatman—

Yes, traveller: dost thou not see the people already round the willow tree?

Third Traveller—

Is it the place where the service is going to be held ?

Boatman—

Yes, traveller, there is a sad story about the willow tree.

Fourth Traveller—

Boatman, tell it us, pray !

Fifth Traveller—

The third bell is ringing and ringing.

Boatman—

The very thought of the tree brings tears to my eyes and heart. Some months ago the bad fellow of the North, the boy-robber as he was known, passed here with a little boy who was so tired, unable to walk; as he could not walk, the bad fellow of the North beat him, though the boy was beaten, he could not step further, he speedily fainted away, and he died. The bad fellow of the North left him on the spot, and ran away as a blast, it was too late when the villagers found the boy out; they buried him properly, they planted the willow tree for a memory, they gather, they read the holy book on every eve of the day that he died.

All the Travellers—

This is the day then when he died ?

The Woman—

Oh, boatman, the story sounds to be my son's. How old was the boy who died ?

Boatman—

He was about ten years old, my woman.

The Woman—

That was my boy's age. Oh, boatman, tell me how looked the boy who died?

Boatman—

He was delicate, lovely, as a doll from the city; his hair as black as could be, might put a crow to shame. He wore a silken dress with butterflies and flowers on it. He was a little butterfly crushed in the hand of the northern wind.

The Woman—

Alas, he was my boy!

(*The woman falls down in the boat. The evening breeze brings the voice of prayer from the other bank to the boat.*)

All the Travellers—

Let us join from here in the holy service. *Namu amida butsu.*

(*The fallen woman does not hear the praying voices of the travellers, but the silvery voice of her own boy.*)

A Voice in the Air—

At last, it is thou, mother.

The Woman—

It is I, child. How glad to be with thee again!

The Voice in the Air—

Oh, mother, we shall never part again.

The Woman—

Child, where art thou? I hear thy voice but see not thy face. What I see is the willow tree swinging in the dusk.......

YONE NOGUCHI

BENARES—AN INTERPRETATION

New Faiths may come into being; new Schisms may develop and gather followings; Fundamentalists may wage war against the growing army of Modernists; old Dogmas may totter to a final stand on the battle-ground of Higher Criticism; but Benares still is, as it has been for countless centuries, the Holy City and Mecca of the devout Hindu.

Its crumbling temples may sink into the Ganges; but other temples will rise in that many-templed and many-godded City by the River.

Hereditary customs have become a fetish after unknown generations of repetition. The old order changeth not, and Mother Gunga, flowing on to the Sea, carries within her inscrutable bosom the secret knowledge of untold tragedies, untold life-histories of devotees and fanatics; untold stories of sacrifices and offerings that have taken place upon her venerable and venerated banks.

She is the essence of sacredness and symbolism; her waters, however muddy in reality, metaphorically purify both the living and the dead. She has seen the ancient city rise from its infancy, tier on tier, to the jumbled mass above her; where the children of an antique faith cling tenaciously to an outworn, yet ever vital Belief in the tenets of Hinduism. The old dogmas of that ancient worship have survived the eternal conflict of questing souls.

The intricate and involved creed of orthodox Hinduism has been fostered by a mighty Priesthood; disseminated by a great Brotherhood of Swamis, Gurus and Pundits; nourished by an endless procession, fanatically devout, of Sannyasis, Yogis and Sadhus. A voluntary army of "Holy men" have carried the banner of the Faith triumphantly through a succession of spiritual wars, and the mystical slogan of that banner is the "OM" that vibrates harmoniously in the heart of the chanter of sacred Mantras.

The Philosophy of Vedantism has remained as impregnable and remote as a star, above the murky mass of superstitions, perversions and ignorance, wherein the more primitive and uncultured minds of the less spiritually awakened Hindu have wandered in a sea of sensual imaginations.

The sacred Lotus still lies in unblemished beauty on the bosom of the Pool, where hidden from the eye, the roots strike down and find sustenance from the muck and mud beneath the water.

The whole subject of Hinduism in its various manifestations has been an object of critical disparagement by those whose opinions have been gained from the dangerous "little knowledge," and who have been prone to see the more obvious and glaring flaws in a system whose highest beauties must be searched for beneath the non-essential imperfections of a too human and literal presentation.

When we attempt to plumb the depth of a Pool of Thought, our critical investigations bring up a number of slimy and unpleasant things from the bottom. The concentric whorls of conjecture on the disturbed surface finally cease and the Pool resumes its placidity and calm. The inconsistencies, the perversions and the superstitions, are all merely the heavy rubbish that gathers and settles to sink to the bottom of the Theological Pool. The quiet surface of the water conceals all the ugliness, and the Pool, if left alone, will resume its placidity and perfect calm.

Those who have looked within and found that all Life is Illusion, have gathered comfort in the uplift of æsthetic and spiritual meditation; have withdrawn from the elemental struggles for material existence, and have risen to sublime heights in the contemplation of Nirvana. At the last, they are content to return "ashes to ashes." The clay vessel that held the spirit captive through the brief span of man's allotted years, rests, insensate flesh, on the funeral pyre, where the last mortal ashes are scattered over the silent waters of the Sacred River.

The essential Unity of Life, the spiritual brotherhood and harmony with the divine is manifested variously, according to the intellectual conceptions of the devotees. The consolation of the Priesthood meets all the demands of the Believer. He offers material as well as spiritual benefits. The humble peasant, in a blind and instinctive search for his "Grail", trudges many weary miles over the hot and sandy plains to offer a hapless goat upon the sanguinary altar of Kali, the Black Mother. He receives a blessing from the officiating Priest, and is made happy by a bottle of Ganges water.

The pilgrim dips his body in the sacred river of Purification and is cleansed. His inward exhilaration is the reward. He finds the consummation of his spiritual desires upon the sandy banks of the brooding old waters and in the precincts of the Temples that enshrine his favourite Deity.

The Vaishnavite attains happiness in his belief that the highest reward of merit is spiritual gain, not to be acquired in this brief and oft times unhappy life on earth; but Beyond and on and on into the Infinity of Eternal Life. The ultimate height is reached in Nirvana where the soul becomes One with the Great One-ness, and is absorbed into the Omnipotent and Absolute.

The lives of the orthodox Hindu are bound up in the elaborate rituals of the Faith, intricate in conception and incapable of explanation. They delight in the offices of Religion, and find their greatest interest centred in an earnest observance of Holy Days and Pujas. Festivals, feasts, prayers, sacrifices, ceremonies and pujas, are all offered to the Hindu, and fill an otherwise drab and uneventful life.

Pilgrimages hold out the charm of adventure and the call of a spiritual "wander-lust" is answered. An inward urge drives the pious to visit places of Sanctity, endowing them with sanctity in the effort, and lending them a glamour of the attained. The contact with the centres of things religious is a spiritual stimulus and the effect of such a Pilgrimage is far-reaching and influential.

The Hindu calendar is filled with periodic Festivals, intervals replete with interest and opportunities for definite plans of pleasure and excitement. There are about thirty-six distinct religious festivals in every Hindu year, which alone preclude any possibility of boredom.

These religious feasts and fairs have all the ear-marks of usual holiday occasions, filled as they are with music, singing, dancing, feasting, processions and ceremonials dear to the heart of the Oriental.

Relief from the tedium of the daily round is offered in the many forms of religious rites and customs, whose origins are so remote as to be lost in the dim past of buried centuries. The Feast of Lights, the Durga and Kali Puja, the Holi Festival and many others are filled to the brim with colour and charm whose hold is around the hearts of these "Children of the Soil and Sun."

Should the Westerner be so unwise as to select April, or any hot-weather month for the occasion of his first visit to Benares, I fear he will miss all the magic and glamour that gives its peculiar charm to this old City by the River. His eyes will be filled with the burning glare of the unwinking sun, and the intolerable reflections from the glassy surface of the Ganges; his ears will be filled with barbarous clamour of outlandish noise; the beat of the drum in endless reiteration will but serve to accentuate the pulse of unrelieved heat; his nostrils will be filled with the acrid scent of the smoke from the burning ghats on the river's edge, and he will be repelled by the composite smell of the East, undefinable, but powerful and insidious.

He will doubtless feel revulsion from the accumulation of unaccustomed sensations. In all the pushing, clamouring odorous throng he will feel repelled and disgusted. In contemplating the heaps of refuse that lie malodorously at the doors of the Temples, he will lose sight of the beauties of the splendid carvings, the delicate traceries, the harmonious colours, the subdued decorations, the gracious arches and pillars of the old Indian architecture about him.

Amid the thousands of images of alien Gods, he will feel himself an alien in a heathen land; a superior being far above all the childish absurdities, the fetishes and ceremonials that he so little understands. He will doubtless not comprehend that beneath all the turmoil, and seemingly senseless charlatanism of Priest and devotee, the All-pervading Beauty of the original concept of One-ness, and the fact of the supreme belief in the attributes of the Omniscient One God.

In the tawdriness of the non-essentials built up by puny man, he will forget the great undying Truths behind all the obscuring activities of the human creatures.

In reality the Gods and Goddesses are but man's attempt at a concrete expression of divinities; merely an endeavour to personify and bring into form some ideas of the dimly sensed and incomprehensible forces of life and nature. Man's immemorial effort to bring orderly concepts out of the void have always resulted in failure; for the finite cannot express the infinite satisfactorily. But "Man depicts himself in his Gods"; he longs for some definite material substance to pin his bewildered conjectures to. The little Gods and Godlings are the talisman that help to satisfy the craving for a concrete extension of the senses.

As to the exigencies of life and death, the Hindu has acquired a fatalistic attitude. It is his best protection from fear. He believes in a continuation of life after death; in lives beyond lives; he is stoical and calm, even indifferent to death itself.

Life, at best, among India's seething multitudes, is beset with danger; disease and famine lurk round the corner;

and Death, the inevitable and inexorable Reaper, gathers his harvest impartially from young and old, fat and lean. Why then, in the uncertain life of man, deny him his pleasures in Festivals, his comforts in Pujas, his interest in Pilgrimages, his satisfaction in sacrifices and offerings? Such vital intervals in his life are the compensation for prolonged discomforts and the meagreness of existence. What matter whether the shrine be that of Brahma, Shiva, Vishnu, or some other "Strange God"?

Natural phenomena and the forces of nature are personified but to accentuate the great enduring Truths of Life. Vice is punished, virtue is rewarded; merit is gained by acts of charity, by meditation and sacrifice. It is but another form of the old scheme of spiritual endeavour, devised by wisdom in this life of complexities and unrest.

Inward exaltation is the reward of the devout, and the pilgrim has reached the pinnacle of desire when he stands on the old steps leading down to the Sacred River, and laves his body in the literal water with the thought of spiritual purification. He is purified by the belief in the act of purification. When he washes his body in the Ganges, he is clean. His humble offerings of rice, honey, sweetmeats and flowers are acceptable to the Gods. The value of the offering is gauged by the sincerity of the spirit of the offerer. He is conscious of spiritual uplift and regeneration; he is dressed in new garments of faith and his spiritual lamp is relighted with the ever living life of exaltation. His susceptible and emotional nature responds to the contagion of the influences of the thousands of pilgrims around him, bent with one accord, on a similar Mission. He is exhilarated and refreshed in this thought, that he is an added unit to the common Brotherhood. He has attained the desired end;—why quibble about the means? Surely, there is sufficient virtue in such earnest endeavour? His way, too, leads upward, if by a different road. If the path is not our path, shall the end of the road not converge in one ultimate unity of Ways? Are his thoughts not our thoughts, clothed in different language?

Benares stands for the acme of attainment to the Hindu. Among her congested and labyrinthine streets and lanes the visitors may find many beautiful Temples, rising many-pillared and towered, to the sky, as a concrete expression of man's devoutness and faith. So great is the belief in the virtue of the old city, that thousands of pilgrims come there to die, secure in the belief that to rest at last in the Sacred Waters of the Ganges is in itself sufficient to gain one an immediate entrance into Heaven. The ancient steps leading down to the water have been worn smooth by the innumerable feet of pilgrims and worshippers.

Rising above the banks of the Ganges are an infinite number of Temples; a multitude of shrines, a horde of Brahmins and Priests who carry on the involved offices of their religion; a clamorous throng of mendicants and loathsomely diseased beggars solicit alms; a crowd of busy vendors ply their trades; and life, frank and unashamed; vivid and colourful; blatant and dominant; moves on under the Tropic sun. And in antiphonal contrast, winds the eternal funeral procession, on its way to the Burning Ghats by the river. Life and Death—the eternal pattern of light and shade, the endless give and take of Destiny. "The moving finger writes, and having writ, moves on." The smoke from the Burning Ghats, mingle with the smoke of the cooking fires; the living feed life as the dead feed the flames. The panorama is changeless yet ever changing; each act of the Drama is endlessly repeated. The play remains the same; only the players come and go in the perpetual motion of kaleidoscopic evolution.

Each year a million pilgrims find their way to Benares, and pay their vows by walking the thirty-six miles around the city on the old road of the Asi and Baruna Ghats, where the dust of countless foot-steps have risen and settled, and the old trees lend their grateful shade to the weary wanderers. At intervals along the way, little temples and shrines punctuate the stations of the Pilgrimage and at intermittent villages the wayfarer rests and is refreshed in body.

Benares flourished six centuries before Christ, and although predatory invaders have repeatedly sacked the city and destroyed her Temples, she has risen from the ashes of vandalism, like the Phoenix of old, to flourish in newer and better strongholds of religion, fortified and kept up by an impregnable Belief.

From the looms of Benares have come for centuries the finest silks, woven skilfully into intricate pattern and exquisite harmonies of colour and texture, and have gone abroad to deck the bodies and enhance the beauties of thousands of alien queens and maidens. From the little primitive Bazaars nestling in the shadows of the Golden Temple, have gone out beautifully wrought brasses, carved and chased with old-world designs and destined to rest at last in the homes of a foreign people far across the sea. Endless replicas of Deities, in miniature, have found their way into all parts of the globe, to strike an anachronistic note in some occidental harmony of decoration, or to carry a touch of mystery and romance into some commonplace modern drawing-room.

The shuttles move to and fro on the material looms of Benares, and in some inscrutable rhythm of its own, the loom of Life weaves on and on; new patterns from old, old patterns from new, now drab, now gay. In the fluid spiral of Destiny's Plan, the cycle of life turns round and round, the beginning and ending unknown to man.

In the moving pageantry of the brief but colourful sunset, we say farewell to the old River and the sacred City on its banks. As we row along the resplendent waters, reflecting the gold and saffron, the violet and birds-egg-blue of the tropical sky, we take a last look at the irregular sky-line of Benares, where the dome of the Golden Temple catches fire from the fading light, and the age-worn city takes on softer hues in the misty smoke-filled air. The scent of sandal-wood and spices are wafted to us on the little breeze; the throb of a temple drum beats from the distance; a temple bell rings out in crystalline clearness; the definite forms of the worshippers become blurred into an indefinite mass of pastel shades, and by our side on the still waters, of the Ganges, floats a jasmine chain from some flowered bier. The perspective of Benares fades away into an impression as the shadows of the Indian night fall like a curtain, swiftly, blotting out a scene. Benares is already a memory; but here and there along the shore, flare the fires from the Burning Ghats; like lonely signals of Fate, unceasing and persistent, melancholy reminders of the end of all Pilgrimages. Death gives the final " Salaam." Life, only, is Illusion.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

THE FLOWER OF RAJASTHAN

ACT IV ; SCENE I.

[*Scene.* A room in the palace at Nagore. Jagat Singh is discovered seated on a cushion, Dhonkul likewise on his right, Sowae Singh standing at Jagat Singh's left hand.]

Jagat—

Hath ought come yet in answer from Mir Khan
To our demands?

Sowae—

We still await it, prince.
If he comply not, with what force we have
We must attack him.

Jagat—

Where is Sindhia?

Sowae—

Some ten miles to the eastward. He should be
With us at fall of eve. We cannot make
The onset till he come.

Jagat—

The gods be praised.

Dhonkul—

Pray, uncle, what demands were sent Mir Khan?

Jagat—

Sowae, enlighten infant majesty.

Sowae—

We challenged him, dread Rana of Maroo,
To give account of his manœuverings
Since leaving Joda: why unauthorised
He marched on Jeypur and made traitorous war
On her defences: why, moreover, he
Hath with thy rebel chieftains summoned Maun
Again to Marwar's cushion, and disclaimed
Your majesty as illegitimate.

Dhonkul—

What's that?

Jagat—

It means, sweet nephew, that thou hadst
An unknown parent.

Dhonkul—

I have heard it said
He was a *banya* in the big bazaar,
And she—

Sowae—

Enough! e'en princes in their youth
May suffer stripes for folly's word ill-timed.
Wast thou not bidden ne'er to speak of this?

Dhonkul—

I am a king and speak of what I choose.
Thou takest too much on thee, Sowae Singh.

Jagat—

Bravo, well spoken. 'Tis a farce well played.

Sowae—

Thy kingship, boy, on Sowae Singh depends.

Without me thou shouldst find thyself as low
As thou hast heard it rumoured.

Jagat—

Ha, ha, ha!
So Marwar's royalty is sunk to this.

Sowae—

Scoff not, my lord of Amber. Wouldst thou see
Thy rival king of Marwar in his stead?

Jagat—

Nay, thou canst trust us. Not a word shall pass
Our lips of what we chanced to overhear;
But ne'er was played so good a comedy.

(*Enter a herald.*)

Herald—

Salaam, your Majesties! Your servant brings
The Amir Khan's most dutiful reply
To your demands. I crave your leave to read it.

Jagat—

Our leave is granted.

Herald (*reading*)—

Unto Amber's king
The Nawab Amir Khan sends humble greeting,
To Marwar's Lord and to Pokurna's chief,
Beseeching them of his good services.
And loyal comradeship to rest assured.
Although of late by his manœuverings
He may have caused them some perplexity,
His motive all the while has been their weal
To which he is devoted.

Jagat—

Lying dog!

Herald (continuing)—

True he hath taken on himself to form
A pact with Maun, the base Pambasi's son,
But only that he may deliver him
Into the hands of their true Majesties
And bring him to his ruin. Amir Khan
Plays a deep game but not one false to those
To whom alliance binds him. Lo, he comes
Single, unarmed, before their Majesties
Craving their leave devotions to perform
To Peer Tarkheem, the Moslem Saint, whose shrine
Is set within the city of Nagore.
For which kind leave may Allah, good and wise
Reward their Majesties with length of life,
And bless Pokurna with prosperity.

Jagat—

Dost trust him, chieftain?

Sowae—

Scarcely yet, my lord,
Nor do I trust his protest of good faith
In lifting arms against us. Yet may be
He will be false to Maun as he hath been
False to his friends alway, and we may win
By gracious condescension to his prayer
His legions back in Marwar's cause and thine.
'Twere best he came and we did bargaining.

Jagat—

So be it, we give our leave, then.

Dhonkul—

'Tis the right
Of Marwar's lord to grant it in Nagore.

Jagat (*sarcastically*)—

We stand corrected by your Majesty.

Dhonkul—

Uncle, we pardon and o'erlook thy fault;
Yet in this wise offend not any more.

Sowae—

Oh, I have trained this child to over much
Prerogative of Kingship! Herald, bear
Back to thy Lord our answer—he may come.

Dhonkul—

My answer, chieftain!

Amir Khan (*entering*)—

Amir Khan is here,
Offers his service and commits himself
To the protection of their Majesties.

Sowae—

Welcome, Nawab! Thus to extend the hand
Of fellowship once more far better likes me
Than to wage war upon an old ally.

Amir Khan—

Glory to Allah for this happy meeting!
And for the confidence reposed in me,
Unshaken still by strange appearances,
For which ye well might question my good faith.
I hope ere long to shew your Highnesses
Your trust in Amir Khan was not misplaced.

Jagat—

Wilt thou surrender Jeypur?

Amir Khan—

I but hold it
In trust for thee, O Lion of the World.

Dhonkul—

Why hast thou fought against us?

Amir Khan—

O my liege,
'Twas but a stratagem to trap your foes.

Dhonkul—

Thy story is a tall one, O Mir Khan.

Amir Khan—

Your Majesty is yet too young to thread
The labyrinths and mazes of the mind
That counsels for your welfare.

Dhonkul—

In a maze
People get lost, but what's a labyrinth?
Is it a kind of treason?

Amir Khan (*aside*)—

Curse the brat!
He gives more trouble than the other two.
(*Aloud*) One day I hope to shew your Majesty.

Sowae—

How hath the impostor Maun entreated thee?

Amir Khan—

But poorly, chieftain—with such stinginess

Had I a single moment meant to change
My heart's allegiance from the better cause,
I had as soon revoked it, and had turned
My legions to more advantageous use.

Sowae—

For these same legions we can pay thee well
And for thy service treat thee royally.

Amir Khan—

Well do I wot it, chieftain, and will swear
On the Koran my pledge of loyalty,
Laying my life and service at the feet
Of this august alliance. Furthermore,
To seal my fellowship, Pokurn, with thee,
Lo, from my brows my turban I unwind;
Do thou the same and make exchange with me,
And let us love as brothers from this hour.
(*Sowae Singh begins to unwind his turban also*)
And ere I kiss the shrine of Peer Tarkeem
With lips that murmur fealty's oath anew,
I pray their Majesties, Pokurna's Chief
And all the chieftains serving under them
To come and on the morrow grace my tent
With their esteemèd presence, and partake
Of such poor banquet as my means afford.

Sowae—

Since thou hast trusted us in coming here,
We need not hesitate to trust ourselves
To thy good hospitality, Mir Khan.
Your Majesties are doubtless of this mind?

Jagat—

Nay, we can scarce refuse him,

Dhonkul—

If we would.

(*As Amir Khan and Sowae Singh are exchanging turbans, the curtain falls.*)

ACT IV; SCENE 2.

[*Scene.*—The tent of Amir Khan. Jagat Singh, Dhonkul, Sowae Singh and Amir Khan discovered reclining on cushions. Dishes with fruits and sweetmeats are before them. Slaves are refilling their cups.]

Amir Khan—

I drink the *Soma*, Lion of the World,
To the swift triumph of the rightful cause
In the long war that rages to its close,
And thy attainment of the lovely prize
Awaiting thee in Mewar; and to thee,
Son of the mighty Bheem, and Marwar's lord,
Calling on Allah, just and merciful,
To end the strife and tumult into which
Thou comest like a sun-beam through the clouds,
Bright with the promise of a fairer day;
Last, Sowae Singh, Pokurna's chief, to thee,
Leader of armies, champion of our kings,
And wisest of our statesmen! Mayst thou live
To wear thy laurels in an age of peace
And bear in Rajasthan a name that yields
To none in greatness save their Majesties.

Sowae—

The name of Amir Khan, the dread Nawab,
Will be as famous, when his timely aid
Hath turned to victory the three-edgèd sword
Of Marwar, Jeypur and Pokurn. The issue
Can be no longer doubtful, and the goal
Of our joint enterprise is all but won.
Upon the threshold of success I pledge
Both on their Majesties' behalf and mine
Our brave and loyal host, the Amir Khan.

(*Jagat Singh and Dhonkul join in the toast.*)

Amir Khan—

Such gracious words o'erwhelm my modesty
Who do my bounden duty, nothing more.
But none the less I thank their Majesties
And the great chieftain who have honoured me.
Now let the praise of worthier men be sung.

(*Enter a chorus of maidens waving boughs of jessamine and singing.*)

Maidens—

Farewell to thee, winter ! and welcome again
All ye buds and ye blossoms of spring.
To the birth after travail, the bliss after pain
All ye songsters, awaken and sing !

Sing a song, a new song, for a lay that is worn
Never sprung from a heart that is new.
'Twill be fresh as the earliest green that is born
Of a fern that uncurls in the dew.

The hoar-frost is melted, its hardness is spilled,
O Spring, in libation to thee.
The peacock grows faint with the nectar distilled
From the blossoms that swing on the tree.

The humming bees swarm to the mango in flower
But the breeze bears its sweetness afar ;
So the fame of a prince has the world for its dower,
But the heart of a maid for its star.

Amir Khan—

I raise the cup to Amber's future queen.

Jagat Singh—

A gracious toast ! We lack the eloquence
To thank thee worthily. Ah—who come here ?
A chorus somewhat different from the last,
Which likes me half as well.

(*Enter a band of armed men with a veiled bard at their head.*)

Amir Khan—

The former sang
For thine espousals, but these latter come
To sing of warfare.

Jagat Singh—

'Tis a well-worn theme.
Howbeit 'tis ill to judge a play's success
Until the curtain fall.

Amir Khan—

Have patience, prince !
This play hath no dull ending at the least.

(*The Bard facing Jagat Singh and Dhonkul sings*)

Bard—

Sweet is the spring upon winter, the night upon day,
Sweet is the rest after toil and the peace after fray,
Sweet after storm to the sailor the calm of the bay.
What is sweeter than these ?

Sweet to the traveller glisten the home-lights afar,
Sweet on the gloom of the wave is the light of a star,
Sweet are the kisses of children, and peace after war.
What is sweeter than these?

Sweet on the sand of the desert the fall of the rain,
Sweet on the vigil comes sleep, and ease upon pain,
Sweet are the arms of thy true-love around thee again,
What is sweeter than these?

Amir Khan—
He pauses for an answer.

Jagat Singh—
Nay, it lies
Beyond imagination.

The Bard—
Yet it lurks
But a few paces off your Highnesses,
And lies within the grasp of him who speaks.

Dhonkul—
Is it a caterpillar?

The Bard—
Nay my liege
'Tis swifter and more deadly.

Sowae Singh—
Prithee, fellow.
Give thine own riddle answer.

The Bard—
Be it so.

(*He sings*)

Sweeter than rest to the toiler or crowns to the brave
Sweeter than rain to the desert or calm to the wave,
Sweeter than favours that sweet-hearts to lovers e'er gave
Is my vengeance to me.

(*The armed men all draw their swords. Sowae Singh springs to his feet.*)

Sowae Singh—

What treason here hath shown her hooded head ?
'Tis an ill jest ! Command this mumming cease.
And frighten not thy royal guests, Amir.

Amir Khan—

The Lion of the World should know no fear
Whate'er his jackal suffer.

Sowae Singh—

Why this show
Of swords and armed men ? and who is he
Who hides his features underneath a veil
Yet hath a voice methinks I recognise ?

Bard—

I will not keep thee longer in suspense,
O chieftain of Pokurna. 'Tis a friend
Who put his trust in thee and paid the price
Of his blind indiscretion. (*Unveiling*) Mark me well,
Then close thy traitor eyes in endless night.

Jagat Singh—

Not Maun of Marwar ! Mercy ! Great Amir,
We are thy guests—protect us from our foe !

Amir Khan—

How feebly whines the Lion in the snare !

Rajah Maun—

As scarce less feebly growled he in the plain.

Sowae Singh—

False, doubly perjured Khan, unfit to breathe,
So thou wouldst end the war of Rajasthan,
Shaming thy shield for ever with a deed
The world shall shudder at when thou art named,
While every generation adds its curse
Upon the memory of so vile a wretch
As murdered at his board his very friends
Who came there trusting him. And as for thee,
Maun, son of the Pambasi, as for thee,
The curse of infamy is on thee too.

Rajah Maun—

Hath Sowae Singh himself no share in it?

Sowae Singh—

Base bastard of a race of parricides
Who slew the blessed Ajit in his bed,
And did my grandsire Devi Singh to death,
His dagger long hath waited for this hour;
Now take it to thy heart.

(*He springs on Rajah Maun and stabs at him: the men at arms close round him and he falls, pierced with sword.*)

Sowae Singh—

Assassin herd,
Yours is a shameful triumph. Tell the world
'Twas stolen by a murder. I am sped.
No blood is on the dagger, yet I know
Some day in Jodhpur's thousand-columned hall
A hand shall drive it home to Marwar's heart,
And yet Pokurna's blood shall be avenged.

(*Dies*)

Rajah Maun—

He had betrayed me, yet he was a man,
And died a Rajput. Honour to his pyre!

Amir Khan—

More work remains. Now, Marwar, rid thyself
For ever of thy country's enemies,
And sate thy vengeance in yon recreant's blood
Who shames the crown of Amber.

Jagat Singh—

Mercy, King!
I humbly crave thy pardon. Spare my life;
It shall no more provoke thee.

Amir Khan—

Spare him not,
Else Peace is shut from Rajasthan for aye.

Rajah Maun—

Nay, we would earn no more blood-guiltiness,
And love not to behold our enemies
Perish unless in battle. Jagat Singh,
Thy life is granted thee, if thou wilt swear
Never again to draw the sword upon us
Or to dispute our right as Marwar's Lord.
Then, if thou wilt abandon from this hour
Thy suit of Mewar's daughter and withdraw
Thine armies back to Jeypur, there thou shalt
Reign unmolested, so thou keep thy word.

Jagat Singh—

Most gracious lord, I swear it—anything.

Amir Khan (*to Rajah Maun*)—

Hard is the service of thine interests,

My lord of Marwar, when thou settest free
The hand that seeks to slay thee. Wilt thou too
Give leave of way to Dhonkul, that the pair
May seek thine overthrow as heretofore,
And not in vain, belike, a second time?
There's the Pretender! while he breathes the air,
Thy place on Marwar's cushion is unsure.

Rajah Maun—

Sooth,'tis a pretty boy. Say, rascal, why
Thou dost against us lift thy puny sword.

Dhonkul—

Because thou art a traitor, and usurpèdst
The throne of Bheem whose lawful heir am I.

Rajah Maun—

Well hast thou learnt thy lesson. Mayst thou be
As quick again to unlearn it, for it leads
Down a short road to Yama's gloomy halls,
Where he who taught thee it now looks in vain
For the sweet sunlight and the joys of life.
Thou art too young to die.

Dhonkul—

I fear thee not.

Rajah Maun—

Wilt swear no longer to dispute our place
On Marwar's cushion?

Dhonkul—

Nothing will I swear,
Save that thy head shall fall for Sowae Singh.

Amir Khan—

Say, shall I cut this bantam rebel down ?
My fingers itch to slay him.

Rajah Maun—

Nay, forbear.
A bundle of young twigs will better serve
The end of his correction than the sword.
We would not lose the world so brave a lad.
Hear, boy misled, thy sentence to the close.
Thou claimest to be sprung of Marwar's line ;
As Marwar's citizen we banish thee
From Marwar's state for ever. Thou shalt go
Forth from our city on a sable steed,
Clad in black vesture bearing arms and shield
Of the same sombre hue, in exiled shame,
Till thou art set beyond our frontiers,
To cross them never more on pain of death.
Take the lad hence.

Dhonkul—

I shall return, a man,
And challenge thee to combat, face to face,
Till Death decide between us.

Rajah Maun—

Nor will I
Refuse thee, when thou comest, since thou art
More princely than the princes I have known
And hast a spirit worthy of the sire
Thou claimest to be sprung from. But meanwhile
Thine earlier sentence waits thee. Lead him hence
Lay stripes upon him—not too heavily.

(*Exit Dhonkul with attendants.*)

Amir Khan—

Thou art in likelihood to rue the day
Thou shewedst to thy foes such clemency.

Rajah Maun—

Nay, that shall I regret not. O Mir Khan,
Hast thou so soon forgotten Joda's hall?
Save for that clemency, where hadst thou been?

[CURTAIN]

(*To be Continued.*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

BIR SINGH DEO—II

It will be seen that Keshava Dás who evidently composed his book on information given by either Bir Singh Deo or his party makes no attempt to defend his patron and does not make much fuss about cutting off the head. Asad Beg, one of the Shaikh's retinue as quoted in Elliott's History of India (V. I. 154) gives further details. "The Sheikh was mortally wounded by a blow from a spear. Bir Singh came up soon after and dismounted and taking Abul Fazal's head upon his knees, began to wipe his mouth with own garment......just then the Sheikh unclosed his eyes. Nar (Bir) Singh, sitting as he was, saluted him,.........the Sheikh looked bitterly at him, Nar Singh swore that he would carry him safely to Akbar. The Sheikh began to abuse him angrily. Nar Singh's attendants told him he would not be able to convey him away, for the wound was mortal......Nar Singh then rose from the Sheikh's head and his attendants despatched him, and cutting off the head of the great one started off meddling with no one else, but even releasing those whom they had taken prisoner."

You will thus see that in waylaying and killing Abul Fazal, Bir Singh Deo was not a willing agent and that Abul Fazal, though previously warned and prevented by a Pathan, arrogantly courted his death. Bir Singh Deo was, so to speak, between the devil and the deep sea. He had dissension in his family and had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor. The only course open to him was to seek the protection of Prince Salim and the Prince was not on good terms with his father. It must be noted that the Prince was the fruit of great prayers and penances. Jehangir himself says in his *Tuzuk*: "My revered father, to fulfil a vow which he had made for my birth, travelled on foot from Fatehpur to Ajmer, a distance of 120 *kos*,[1] to pay his respects to the mausoleum of His

---

[1] A *Kos* in Agra is still more than a mile. It is locally called गज कोस.

Holiness Khwaja Moin-ud-din-Chishti." Akbar and his wife walked three miles a day on carpets spread on the road. The saint's representative advised him to approach his brother Shaikh Salim Chishti who lived in Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar obeyed and by the favour of the holy man was blessed with a son who was named Salim after the saint. A small tomb on the back of the mausoleum is pointed out as that of the Shaikh's son Balaji and it is said that the precocious child on hearing the earnest appeal of the Emperor, offered to die, after the manner of the adjustment of the budget allotment of lives, to be born again as heir to the empire of India. Akbar wanted his son to be a model of virtue. The Prince, however, was a spoilt child. In the prime of his youth he fell in love with Anar Kali, "a favourite slave girl of Akbar." She was one day seen returning a smile from Salim and Akbar, following the example of the fond nurse who beats the stone when the child in her charge knocks his head against it, had her buried alive. This was a gross abuse of the authority of parents and Salim could never be expected to forgive his father. In 1600, while Akbar was still alive and Jahangir was then in his thirty-first year, he built for her a tomb which is still one of the imposing buildings of Lahore at the end of one of its most important streets named Anar Kali which immortalises her pet name and contains the following Persian inscription which proclaims his great passion to posterity and shows that if she had been alive, Mehr-un-nisa would have possibly lived and died as the faithful wife of Sher Afgan and would have never been elevated to the rank of the Light of the World.

Ah gar man baz binam rue yár-e-khesh ra
Ta qayamat shukr goyam Kirdigarekhesh ra.

Ah! Could I behold the face of my beloved once more,
I would give thanks unto my God unto the day of resurrection.

On the north face of the grave there is a still more impressive record of Salim's love—*Majnún Salim Akbar.*

It is also possible that after Akbar had reigned for 40 years and as he was in excellent health, Salim became anxious to secure the throne, an anxiety which was subsequently successfully translated into practice by his grandson.[1] "Ministers," as Bir Singh Deo rightly says, "must follow the bent of their sovereign, but a minister is after all a servant and the Prince Imperial is the future Emperor." If, as Bir Singh Deo says, it is the duty of a minister to obey his sovereign, it is also the duty of the heir-apparent to condone his faults. Both Keshava Dás and the author of the *Maasir-ul-umara* agree in the fact that Akbar had summoned Abul Fazl in hot haste from the Deccan to devise means for punishing the Prince. It is difficult, therefore, to say who was in fault. Abul Fazal was a literary man and though literary men are always bunglers in politics, the sympathies of historians who are also literary men are with him and the man who caused his death has committed an exceedingly wrongful act in prematurely depriving the world of the services of a scholar who has given such a beautiful account of Akbar's administration.

Abul Fazl's abilities were unquestionable but from contemporary records it appears that he was not very popular either with the Hindus or with the Musalmans of his time. Keshava Dás says that when the event came to be known in the Emperor's harem, the Hindu ladies were jubilant and there were rejoicings and music among the Rajkumaries. The writer of the *Maasir-ul-umara* says that "the abilities and learning of the two brothers (Abul Fazl and Faizi) were of such a high order that none of their contemporaries could grapple with them; they, who in origin were no better than the sons of a mendicant (*darveshzada*) and were in indigence, all at once attained to intimacy and influence with the sovereign." Jehangir who required twenty cups of wine daily may be charged with hypocrisy in saying that he instigated Bir Singh Deo to kill Abul Fazl because he was instrumental in bringing about the apostacy of Akbar and may be telling a lie that after the death of Abul Fazl his father's views changed. The *Maasir-ul-umara*, however, can be charged with no sinister motives and distinctly says that "he with his brother indoctrinated the king with rationalistic and sophistical principles." Khan Azam (Aziz Koka), the foster-brother of Akbar, composed the following *tarikh* of Abul Fazl's death :—

---

[1] Salim had assumed royal title in 1601.

"The wondrous sword of God's Prophet severed the rebel's head" (1011), *i.e.* (1602 A.D.) The *Maasir-ul-umara* also remarks, "The assertion that the Shaikh was an infidel is upon the lips of high and low. Some reproach him with being a Hindu in religion, and some call him a fire-worshipper, and entitle him a secularist. Some even carry their disgust so far as to call him impious and an atheist." Abul Fazl's head was carried by Champat Rai Bargujar and Bir Singh's party after a few days' halt at Baraun went to Prince Salim in Allahabad. When the head was placed before the Prince, he was enraptured and said,

वीरसिंह को यहई ठई   हमको सकल साहिनी दई ।
वीरसिंह हमैं लीन्हे मोल   करो साहिबो निपटनिडोल ।
राख्यो आज हमारो राज   अब हम देहैं उनको राज ॥

"Bir Singh, you have given an empire to me, you have established my authority as firmly as possible and I have become your purchased slave for life. You have given a kingdom to me, I shall give a kingdom to you." A gold plate with pearls and other materials for anointing king (*Tilak*) was at once sent for and Bir Singh was declared Raja of Bundelkhand. A spear studded with precious stones, a royal umbrella and a pair of *chauries* were presented to him. The *Orchha Gazetteer* says that the sword of Abul Fazl was also handed over to Bir Singh Deo and it is still kept carefully in the darbar. Keshava Dás, however, makes no mention of it. Champat also received a valuable *khilaat* and Bir Singh was dismissed with all honours due to a king. A Brahman was also sent with him and on an auspicious day, Bir Singh was installed Raja of Bundelkhand.

When the news of Abul Fazl's death reached Agra the Emperor at first did not believe it. He questioned his courtiers and nobody gave him a reply. After some time, Ram Das said that the Shaikh had sacrificed himself in the cause of his master. Akbar was overwhelmed with grief and fell down in a swoon and there was a general mourning in the court and the palace. When he came to his senses, he asked Ram Das if Abul Fazl was killed by a wild animal or died fighting an enemy. Ram Das then told him that the Shaikh was killed by Bir Singh Deo at the instigation of Prince Salim. Khan Azam (Aziz Koka), Ram Kachhwaha, Shaikh Farid, Rao Bhoj, Durga Rao, Jagannath and others headed by Tripur Khattri then approached the Emperor and tried to console him. Akbar said, "I am dying, show me the Shaikh. Life has been bereft of its pleasures for me." Khan Azam, his favourite foster-brother, then told him that there were several servants of His Majesty as good as Abul Fazl and death is inevitable. Akbar then said, "I have patronised several, it is now your time to serve me. Go and produce the murderer before me." Raja Ram thereupon offered to go on condition that Sangram would accompany him. Akbar told him that if Bir Singh and Indrajit could be punished, Kachhowa and Baraun would be given to him. Rai Rayan (Patra Das) also went with them and on reaching Gwalior

---

[1] U. B. T., p. 333.

[2] M. U. T., p. 123.

[3] U. B. T., p.

[4] M. U. T., p. 124.

[5] M. U. T. p. 124.

they were joined by Tripur. When Prince Salem heard of it, he wrote to Bir Singh Deo that the Emperor was furious against him and that he should not meet the imperial army face to face. Bir Singh thereupon left Baraun and went over to Datia. Ram Sah then with Rai Rayan and Tripur marched against Datia and Bir Singh then shifted to Erich. Here he was besieged by the imperial forces. The Pathans tried to take the fort by storm but Hari Singh met them with a volley of balls and arrows and Jamal, the son of Khan Zaman, was killed. This caused a panic in the army and Bir Singh found an opportunity of escaping not as the *Maasir-ul-umra* says "through an opening in the wall"[1] but beating his drums and displaying his colours and trampling under foot the camp of Tripur. This escape is graphically described by Keshava Dás in two *kavittas*. Nobody had the courage to pursue him and Bir Singh went unmolested to Datia where he found Prince Salim waiting for him. Thus baffled the imperial generals went back to Agra. Finding the place vacated, Sangram Sah occupied Bhanrer. Bir Singh Deo remained in Datia and his brother Hari Singh Deo established himself in Bhasneh. Hari Singh, however, was killed in his attempt to expel Kharag Rao from Lachura. Bir Singh on hearing of the death of his brother was very much grieved and found it expedient to make an alliance with Sangram Sah. As a result of the agreement, Bir Singh obtained Bhanrer and requested Sangram to drive out Kharag Rao. Kharag Rao was killed in Amlauta and Sangram thus became master of Lachura. Kharag Rao's head was cut off and sent to Prince Salim.

Akbar was pained to hear that the Prince was encouraging the rebels in Bundelkhand and sent Ram Kachhwaha to him. The Kachhwaha told Salim that Bir Singh was as bad as Raja Basu and if he could be arrested and made over to Sharif Khan, the Prince will be invested with all authority. Salim smiled and said, "Ram Das, God alone can give authority to whomsoever He likes. He is master of Heaven and Hell; His will can make a poor man a king and a king can become a pauper. Don't tempt me. See Bir Singh in me. He has established my claim to the empire of the world. How can you expect me to hand him over to you? I shall ever be ready to suffer any distress with him. Empire itself will be of no use to me without him. Ram Das, you have always been my well-wisher. If some other man had spoken to me as you did, I would have killed him then and there and therefore you go in peace." Salim thereupon went to Allahabad and Ram Das to Agra and explained what had happened to the Emperor. Akbar said nothing. In the meantime, the brother of Kharag Rao who had been killed at the time of the expulsion as noted above, appealed to the Emperor. The Emperor's resentment knew no bounds. Ashraf Khan then submitted that Indrajit should be made Raja of Bundelkhand. Akbar agreed and going to *Jharoka* saw Indrajit. Indrajit saluted him and was granted a *siropao.* He next asked his courtiers where Bir Singh was. When no reply was received he burst into tears.

---

[1] M. U. B. T., p. 412.

After a few days Ram Das advised the Emperor to explain to Indrajit the necessity of restoring peace in Bundelkhand and as a reward offered him the Raj of Orchha. Indrajit replied that he was ready to obey the Emperor's commands but that he would never accept the Raj which belonged to his elder brother. Akbar was displeased and next offered the Raj of Bundelkhand to Tripur. It was also considered diplomatic to send for Salim and Tripur was deputed to bring the Prince to the Court after assuring of the Emperor's profound affection to him, especially as Akbar's mother had died lately and he was disconsolate. When the messengers went to Salim, Salim at first hesitated. Bir Singh said, "Prince, you should do all in your power to please the Emperor, your father, If this unpleasantness between father and son can be removed, make me over to the Emperor. It will be no great loss to you if you lose one faithful servant." Salim replied, "If I make over my old friend to please the Emperor whom shall I exalt in my rule. Please don't say such things to me. Have no fear so long as I am living." Salim then went to Agra where according to Keshava Das, he was very badly treated (*Sah bahut tinkon dukh dae*), and Bir Singh and Sangram went back to Orchha.

Tripur was next sent with a large army to Orchha and encamped within a mile. He was assisted by Raj Singh and Ram Singh Kachwahas, Bhadaurias, Chauhans and Jats. Raj Singh seems to have taken over the command himself, as Keshava Das calls Raj Singh's honour as a beautiful bride and his assistants are allegorically described as various parts of her body, *e. g.*—

भानि भेदरिया भूतल भालु ।
भृकुटि भेटि भाटी भूपालु ॥
कच्छवाहै कुल कलित कपोल ।
नैषध नृप नासिका अमोल ॥
मुख ठख माठ चिवुक चंदेल ।
ग्रीवा गौर सुबाहु बघेल ।
कुल कनौजिया कुंचलि चार ।
कुच करचुली कटार विचार ॥

"The Bhadaurias were her forehead, the Bhatis were the eyebrows, the Kachwahas her cheeks, the Chandels formed her chin, the Baghels were her arms, the Karchulis were her breasts." The battle was fought on the banks of the Betwa and is painted by the poet as the marriage of Maharaja Bir Singh Deo with Raj Singh's honour. The battle raged furiously, Bir Singh being assisted by Sangram and Rao Pratap. Raj Singh was captured but he was sent back to the Emperor's army with all honours. Akbar's disappointment was great, and he commanded his Musalman generals to go either to Haj, or to live as subjects of Bir Singh Deo. Shortly after Akbar fell ill and died, and Jehangir ascended the throne. One of his first thoughts was to summon Bir Singh Deo and he wrote a letter to him with his own hands. The messenger found Bir Singh Deo in Dang Chaukia. Bir Singh on receiving the *firman* went to Agra with his brother Indrajit. His reception in the court was extremely cordial and he was loaded with presents. Indrajit and Bharat Sah were also introduced and received presents. Bir Singh was granted the highest seat in the Darbar and was thus addressed by Jehangir, " Bir Singh, you have suffered much for my sake. Now this empire is yours. I have given to you the whole of Bundelkhand. The man who does not honour you will be punished. You can now go home." Bir Singh made his obeisance and went to his lodging to think over the matter. Next day he again appeared and submitted that he could not take Jatahra [1] which was an imperial outpost in his dominions. On this Sharif Khan replied, " Bir Singh, you are master of the country. A Mogul outpost in your dominions will always be a source of trouble to you." At the time of departure some more *parganas* were added to Bir Singh's dominions and he went back to Erich.

It is needless to say that Ram Sah was dissatisfied at his being thus deprived of his kingdom and made some show of resistance. Bir Singh's authority, however, was established with the help of the imperial forces and Ram Sah was captured and produced before Jehangir. He was, however, given Chanderi and Banpur as his *jaigir* and three years after gave his daughter in marriage to the Emperor.

---

[1] Jatahra is the Jatra of Abul Fazl and was the head-quarters of a mahal in the Erich Sarkar of the *subah* of Agra. It was named Islamabad by Islam Sah Sur. Islam, however, also called Salem, was defeated by Bharti Chand and the old name was restored. The place contains a number of old Muhammadan buildings. It is now the head quarters of a tahsil of the state.

Thus ends my summary of *Bir Singh Deo Charita.* We have now seen enough of Bir Singh Deo to conclude that there is nothing in his character derogatory to his dignity as one of the greatest warriors, a most sensible statesman and a man of strong personality. He was the most famous of all the Rajas of Orchha and his dominions extended from the boundary of Gwalior to the west of Rewa divided into 81 parganas containing about 125,000 villages. Jehangir says that " Bir Singh was as brave, kind-hearted and pure as any man of his age " and the various stories of his kind-heartedness and regard for the welfare of his subjects now current in Bundelkhand, show that Jehangir's estimate of his character was hardly exaggerated.

APPENDIX A

The temple " beyond all doubt the last of the famous shrines of Kesava Deo, was built so recently as the reign of Jehangir at a cost of 33 lacs by Bir Singh Deva Bundela of Orchha " and was destroyed in 1669 in the eleventh year of the reign of Aurangzeb who had descended in person on Muttra.[1] It was seen standing by Bernier in 1663 who writes as follows :—

" Between Delhi and Agra, a distance of fifty or sixty leagues, there are no fine towns, the whole road is cheerless and uninteresting; nothing is worthy of observation but Mathura, where an ancient and magnificent pagan temple is still to be seen." The plinth of the temple-wall was traced by General Cunningham for a distance of 163 feet, and there is no reason to believe it extended still further.

---

[1] *Growse's Memoir of Mathura District,* p. 66.

The building is described at considerable length by Tavernier, who saw it about the year 1650. He writes :—"After the temples, Jagrenath and Banarous, the most important is that of Mathura, about 18 *kos* from Agra on the road to Delhi. It is one of the most sumptuous edifices in all India, and the place where there used to be formerly the greatest concourse of pilgrims; but now they are not so many, the Hindus having gradually lost their previous veneration for the temple, on account of the Jamuna, which used to pass close by, now having changed its bed and formed a new channel half a league away. For, after bathing in the river, they lose so much time in returning to the temple, and on the way might come across something to render them unclean.

"The temple is of such a vast size that, though in a hollow, one can see it five or six *kos* off, the building being very lofty and very magnificent. The stone used in it is of a reddish tint, brought from a large quarry near Agra. It splits like our slate, and you can have slabs 15 feet long, and nine or ten broad, and only some six inches thick; in fact, you can split them just as you like and according to your requirements, while you can also have fine columns. The whole of the fort at Agra, the walls of Jehanabad, the king's palace, and some of the houses of the nobles are built of this stone. To return to the temple.—It is set on a large octagonal platform, which is all faced with cut stone, and has round about it two bands of many kinds of animals, but particularly monkeys, in relief; the one band being only two feet off the ground level, the other, two feet from the top. The ascent is by two staircases of 15 or 16 steps each; the steps being only two feet in length so that two people cannot mount abreast. One of these staircases leads to the grand entrance of the temple, the other to the back of the choir. The temple, however, occupies only half the platform, the other half making a grand square in front. Like other temples, it is in the form of a cross, and has a great dome in the middle with two rather smaller at the sides. Outside, the building is covered from top to bottom with figures of animals, such as rams, monkeys, and elephants, carved in stone; and all round there are nothing but niches occupied by different monsters. In each of the three towers there are at every stage from the base to the pinnacle, windows five or six feet high, each provided with a kind of balcony, where four persons can sit. Each balcony is covered with a little vault, supported some by four, others by eight columns arranged in pairs and all touching. Round these towers there are yet more niches full of figures representing demons, one has four arms, another four legs; some human heads on bodies of beasts with horns and long tails twining round their thighs. There are also many figures of monkeys, and it is quite shocking to have before one's eyes such a host of monstrosities.

"The pagoda has only one entrance, which is very lofty with many columns and images of men and beasts on either side. The choir is enclosed by a screen composed of stone pillars, five or six inches in diameter, and no one is allowed inside but the chief Brahmans, who make use of a little secret door which I could not discover. When in the temple, I asked some of the Brahmans if I could see the great Ram Ram, meaning the great idol. They replied that if I would give them something, they would go and ask permission of their superior; which they did as soon as I had put in their hands a couple of rupees. After walking about half an hour, the Brahmans opened a door on the inside in the middle of the screen—outside, the screen is entirely closed—and, at about 15 or 16 feet from the door, I saw, as it were, a square altar, covered with old gold and silver brocade, and on it the great idol that they call Ram Ram. The head only is visible, and is of very black marble, with what seemed to be two rubies for eyes. The whole body from the neck to the feet was covered with an embroidered robe of red velvet, and no arms could be seen. There are two other idols, one on either side, two feet high, or thereabouts, and got up in the same style, only with white faces; these they called Bechor. I also noticed in the temple a structure 15 or 16 feet square, and from 12 to 15 feet high, covered with coloured cloths representing all sorts of demons. This structure was raised on four little wheels, and they told me it was the movable altar, on which they set the great god on high feast days, when he goes to visit the other gods, and when they take him to the river with all the people on their chief holiday."

From the above description, the temple would seem to have been crowded with coarse figure-sculptures, and not in such pure taste as the somewhat older temple of Govind Deva at Brindaban and Hari Deva at Gobardhan; but it must still have been a most sumptuous and imposing edifice, and we cannot but detest the bigotry of the barbarian who destroyed it.

APPENDIX B.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE FAMILY OF KESHAVA DAS.

(According to Kavi Priya).

Brahma

Sanaka and others (Progenitor of Sanhauria Brahmans).

Bhrigu

Paras Ram (Who was granted 72 villages). Also granted 700 villages in Muttra District by Lord Rama which grant was confirmed in the Kali Age by Tribhuan Pal of the Lunar line. He was progenitor of Kumbhwars.

Deva Nand

Jai Deva (patronised by Prithiraj).

Dinkar Shukul (patronised by Emperor Alauddin, Made a pilgrimage to Gaya).

Gaya Gadadhar

Jaya Nand.

Trivikram Misra (Worshipped by the King of Gwalior).

Bhao Sharma

Sriman Misra (He was granted 20 villages by the Rana.)

Harihar Nath

Krishna Datt (Appointed Pauranik by Raja Rudra Pratap).

Kashi Nath (Patronised by Raja Madhukar Sah).

Balbhadra

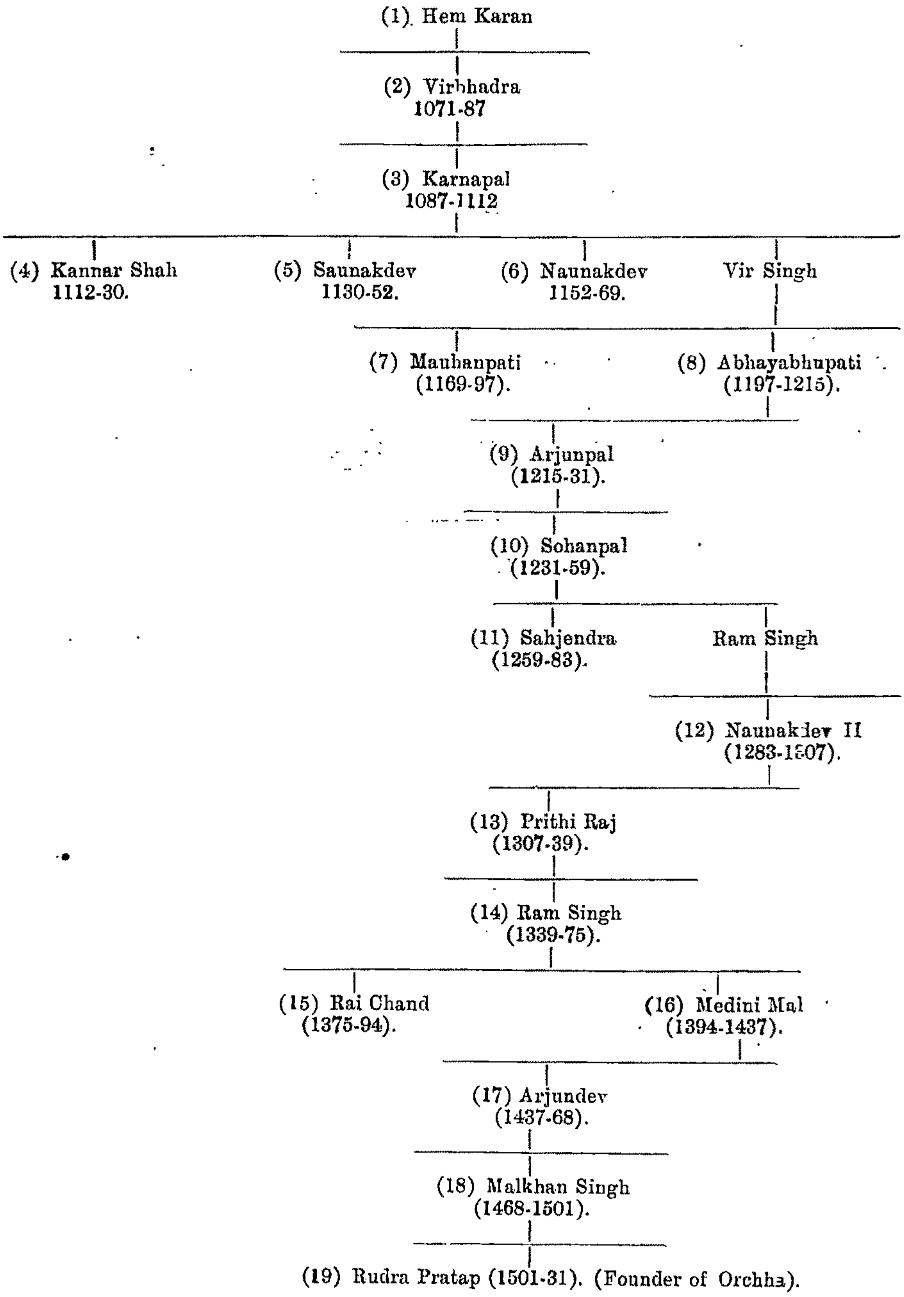
Keshava Das   Kalyan.

APPENDIX C.

A GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE ORCHHA FAMILY.

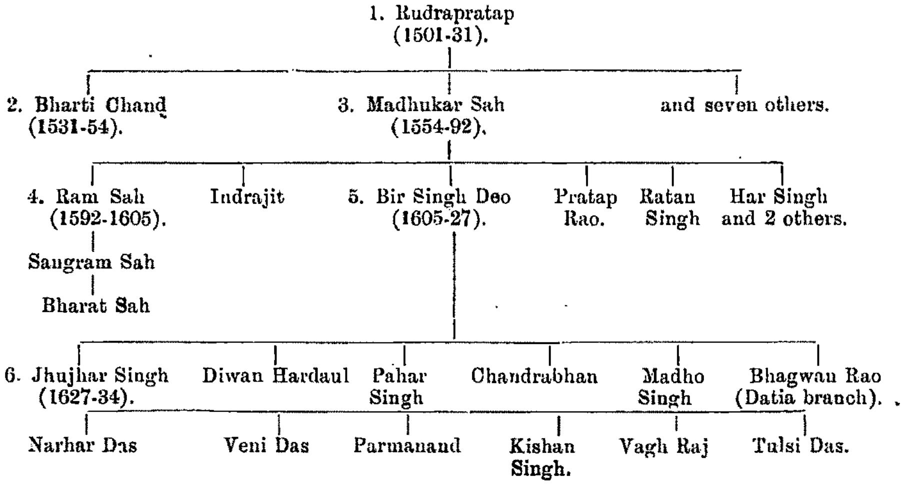
(Hem Karan to Bir Singh Deo.)

According to the Orchha Gazetteer, 1907.


(1). Hem Karan
(2) Virhhadra 1071-87
(3) Karnapal 1087-1112
(4) Kannar Shah 1112-30.
(5) Saunakdev 1130-52.
(6) Naunakdev 1152-69.
Vir Singh
(7) Mauhanpati (1169-97).
(8) Abhayabhupati (1197-1215).
(9) Arjunpal (1215-31).
(10) Sohanpal (1231-59).
(11) Sahjendra (1259-83).
Ram Singh
(12) Naunakdev II (1283-1307).
(13) Prithi Raj (1307-39).
(14) Ram Singh (1339-75).
(15) Rai Chand (1375-94).
(16) Medini Mal (1394-1437).
(17) Arjundev (1437-68).
(18) Malkhan Singh (1468-1501).
(19) Rudra Pratap (1501-31). (Founder of Orchha).

APPENDIX C—(*contd.*)

A GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE ORCHHA FAMILY FROM RUDRA PRATAP TO SANGRAM SAH.


1. Rudrapratap (1501-31).
2. Bharti Chand (1531-54).
3. Madhukar Sah (1554-92).
and seven others.
4. Ram Sah (1592-1605).
Sangram Sah
Bharat Sah
Indrajit
5. Bir Singh Deo (1605-27).
Pratap Rao.
Ratan Singh
Har Singh and 2 others.
6. Jhujhar Singh (1627-34).
Diwan Hardaul
Pahar Singh
Chandrabhan
Madho Singh
Bhagwan Rao (Datia branch).
Narhar Das
Veni Das
Parmanand
Kishan Singh.
Vagh Raj
Tulsi Das.

(*Concluded*)

SITA RAM

THE IDEALS OF JAPANESE EDUCATION

The Japanese, as a nation, believe and act upon the golden rule:

> "Human happiness may only be found in learning and should be sought therein."

As early as 1872, Elementary Education was made compulsory for boys and girls alike. A Department of Education was established in 1871, which, in 1872, published the First Educational Code of the Meiji Era.[1] This Code incorporates, in its Preamble, the epoch-making principle of the complete equality of all the subjects of the Mikado in matters educational:

> "The only way in which an individual can raise himself, manage his property and prosper in his business and so accomplish his career, is by

---

[1] The Meiji Era means the Era of Enlightened Government, which began in 1868 immediately after the acceptance of the resignation of Keiki, the last Shogun. The Shoguns were the Prime Ministers of Japan who virtually governed Japan in the name of the Emperor. The Shogunate had lasted over six centuries and with the acceptance of Keiki's resignation, the Emperors of Japan, after having remained in the background, like the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad, for more than 600 years, again resumed direct control of the government of their country.

Till the middle of the last century, to be exact till 1853 when Commodore Peery touched the Japanese shores with four American men-of-war—Japan was extremely backward and anything but civilized. She had remained entirely cut off and segregated from the rest of the world—hermetically sealed up—for more than two centuries. Annoyed and exasperated by the undesirable practices of Christian missionaries, the Shogun had prohibited all foreigners, on pain of death, from coming to Japan :—" so long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan, and let all know that if King Philip himself or even the very God of Christians, or the great Shaka (Buddha) contravene this prohibition, they shall pay for it with their heads." Similarly the Japanese subjects were strictly forbidden from leaving Japan and those who managed to go abroad stealthily were at once executed on their return to Japan to make this seclusion more effective and thorough, orders were that no boat of ship-going size should be built.

During this era of seclusion, only the Samurai—warrior classes—acquired some semblance of education and the rest were mostly ignorant.

It is staggering to think that in the short span of three decades, benighted Japan became such a mighty Power that she inflicted a crushing defeat upon civilized Russia and Great Britain courted a friendly alliance with her. This transformation is mostly due to her sound educational policy.

cultivating his morals, improving his intellect, and becoming proficient in arts, the cultivation of morals, the improvement of intellect and proficiency in arts cannot be attained except through learning.........every man, only after learning diligently, each according to his capacity will be able to increase his property and prosper in his business. Hence knowledge may be regarded as the capital for raising one's self; who then can do without learning?.........Men must, therefore, acquire learning, and in learning must not mistake its true purport.........It is intended that henceforth universally (without any distinction of class or sex), in a village there shall be no house without learning, and in a house no individual without learning. Fathers or elder brothers must take note of this intention, and bringing up their children or younger brothers with warm feeling of love must not fail to let them acquire learning. (As for higher learning, that depends upon the capacity of individuals, but it shall be regarded as a neglect of duty on the part of fathers or elder brothers, should they fail to send young children to Elementary Schools without distinction of sex.)

"Owing to the long continued bad habits of regarding learning as a matter for those above Samurai rank, there are not a few who consider that since their learning is for the sake of the State, they need not learn unless they are supplied by the state not only with expenses necessary for study, but also with food and clothing, and so by neglecting learning spoil their whole life. This is a great mistake; henceforth such vicious customs must be done away with, and people in general leaving all else aside must make every effort to apply themselves to learning."

"Thus," says the learned author of Japan and its Educational System, "it was early in the day that, unlike us, the Japanese realised that education was necessary for its own sake, and that it was not right that Government should be asked to bear all the expenses, or to find posts for those who had finished their education."

Yukichi Fuzukawa (1835-1901), the greatest of the early educationists of Japan, the founder of the splendid University of Keio (with 8,000 students on its rolls), had compiled a Moral Code for the benefit of his countrymen and for the guidance of those engaged in carrying on the work of the Keio University. This Code of Independence and self-respect was first published in 1890 and is still held in semi-divine veneration by the members of the Keio University. 'Its perusal will show how lucidly it has been thought out and what great pains

Fuzukawa took to instil into the minds of the youth of his nation the principles of Self-respect and Independence.'

I fear I should not quote it in full in this brief paper. A few quotations are given below. Those desirous of studying this momentous document *in extenso* should look it up in Mr. Masood's book, pp. 90-96. Says Fuzu Kawa :—

"When we ask the question how, in these days, and in what manner, the men and women of to-day should order their conduct in society, we find that as a rule such conduct is regulated by various systems of moral teachings which have been handed down from past ages. It is fitting, however, that moral teachings should be modified from time to time to keep pace with the progress of civilization, and it is but natural that a highly advanced and ever advancing society, such as we find in the world to-day, should be provided with a system of morals better suited to its needs than the antiquated teachings already mentioned. It is for this reason, we venture to think that it has become necessary to state anew the principles of morals and rules of conduct, individual as well as social.

'It is the universal duty of Man to raise his personal dignity and to develop his moral and intellectual faculties to their uttermost capacity, never to be contented with the degree of development already attained, but ever to press forward to higher attainments. We urge it, therefore, as a duty upon all those who hold the same convictions as ourselves *to endeavour in all things to discharge their full duty as men, laying to heart the principles of Independence and self-respect as the leading tenets of moral life.*

Whosoever perfectly realizes the principle of Independence both of Mind and Body, and, paying due respect to his own person, preserves his dignity unblemished—him we call a man of Independence and Self-respect.

The true source of independence of life is to eat one's bread in the sweat of one's brow. A man of independence and self-respect should be a self-helping and self-supporting man.

A man of independence and self-respect should not be dependent upon others for the determination of his own conduct. He should be intelligent enough to think and judge for himself.

The ideal person of independence and self-respect deems it incumbent on himself to go on learning even to his old age, and never to allow either the development of the intellect or the cultivation of the moral character to slacken or cease.

Every man should be faithful in the discharge of the duties of his vocation. He, who regardless of the importance of the trusts committed to him, neglects his responsibilities, is unworthy to be called a man of independence and self-respect.

Citizens of Japan, of either sex, should never forget their supreme duty to maintain their national independence and self-respect, against all foes, and at the sacrifice of even life and property.

It is natural that men should be born into the world with varying degrees of intellectual and physical strength. It is the province of Education to increase the number of the wise and strong and to diminish that of the weak and foolish. In short Education instructs men in the principle of independence and self-respect and enables them to form plans for putting the principle into action.

Those who share our convictions, whether men or women, will do well to lay these teachings to heart. They should also strive to spread them throughout society at large and thus to advance, hand in hand with the whole people, towards *the state of greatest happiness.*"

There is a strong resemblance between the life-work and educational activities of the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in India and of the great Fuzu Kawa in Japan. Their lives ran along parallel lines. Both flourished in the same era and both had to face the same difficulties and combat the same forces of ignorance and backwardness. In the words of Syed Ross Masood:[1]

"Both these men devoted their energies to opening the eyes of their countrymen to the marvellous progress made by Europe, and to trying to make them realise that their entire future depends on their modernising themselves as rapidly as possible. But whereas the movements started by Fuzu Kawa went on gaining more strength year after year, owing to the greater virility of the Japanese nation and the absence of disunion amongst them, in India, the movement begun by the late Sir Syed Ahmad gradually weakened as the result of the mutual wrangles, so frequent in our communal life, and on account of the *absence of forcible personalities to carry on the work.*

---

[1] *Vide* "Japan and its Educational System" by Syed Ross Masood. The writer of the paper acknowledges his indebtedness to this admirable book, which he has freely used in the compilation of this paper.

'The buildings of the Keio University are situated on a hill overlooking the sea, not far from Tokyo, and are more impressive than those of any other University visited by me in Japan. The quiet zeal of the professors, their devotion to their work, and the deep respect with which they spoke to me of the founder of their University, offered a sad contrast to the present condition of the Aligarh University, where, I fear not only have most of the ideals of its founder been forgotten, but where even his name is now rarely heard in the lecture halls.'

I need not add my comments to these words of the worthy grandson of the illustrious Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Suffice it to say that the Aligarh University Library does not possess even a single complete set of the works and writings of its founder. I may be further permitted to remark that up till now the Aligarh movement has not derived any tangible benefits from the scanty services of Mr. Syed Ross Masood and that the general apathy of the public towards the Aligarh Muslim University is in no sense greater than the complete indifference of Mr. Syed Ross Masood towards his *alma mater*.

Illiteracy which is the bane of our life in India and the greatest obstacle to the general progress of our country is almost unknown in Japan. Both as a result of the excellently organised and effective system of compulsory elementary education and of the strenuous and sympathetic efforts made by the Ministry of Education, practically the entire population of Japan is literate. In 1918-19 the percentage of children of school-going age under instruction was 98·02 in cities, 98·88 in towns and 99·03 in villages.

So efficiently has the educational system been developed in Japan that even in a village whose total population was only 42 souls, Mr. Masood discovered that an Elementary School had been established.

The aim of Elementary Schools for children 6-12 years old is, as declared officially, " to instil into youthful minds the elements of *moral and national education*, and the knowledge and ability essential for the conduct of life, care being taken at the same time to develop the physique of the children."

The aim of the Middle Schools for boys 13-16 years old is " to give the male pupils a good general education of a rather high standard."

There are three kinds of Elementary Schools in Japan :—

(*a*) Ordinary Elementary Schools.
(*b*) Advanced Elementary Schools.
(*c*) Combined Advanced and Ordinary Elementary Schools.

Corresponding to the Middle Schools for boys, there are two kinds of schools for girls:—

(*a*) Girls' High Schools.
(*b*) Domestic High Schools for girls.

Boys who have finished the Middle School Course can join the Higher Schools for boys whose object is two-fold:—

(1) To be "institutions of learning for male pupils to complete higher grade of general education and *foster their spirit of national morality*."

(2) To prepare students for admission to the different faculties of the Imperial Universities.

Higher Schools are of two types;—

(*a*) Type A with a seven years' course.
(*b*) Type B with a three years' course.

All the existing Higher Schools belong to Type B, but it is contemplated to establish Higher Schools of Type A in the near future. There seven years' course shall be divided into two parts:—

(*a*) The ordinary course of four years, corresponding to the present Middle Schools, and

(*b*) The Advanced Course of three years, corresponding to the present Higher Schools of Type B.

This amalgamation is calculated to effect economy and avoid the unnecessary duplication resulting from the present Middle and Higher Schools.

After finishing the Advanced Course of a Higher School or the Preparatory Course attached to some of the Universities which is exactly the same as the former, students are eligible for admission to Universities.

Universities have been defined in Japan as "institutions where instruction in the theory and the application of sciences and arts essential for the welfare of the state is given, and *minute researches in various branches of learning are pursued, as well as deep attention paid to the formation of character, and the nurture of the national spirit*."

It will be noticed that great emphasis is laid in Japan on national and moral education, fostering the spirit of national morality, formation of character and the nurture of the national spirit. Japanese Universities and Schools both Elementary and Advanced, are keenly alive to the paramount need of moulding the moral character of the youth along national lines. Apart from the scanty amount—next to nothing—of research work done in Indian Universities, this function of teaching institutions—*viz.*, fostering a spirit of national morality and the nurture of the national spirit—is seldom discharged by the Schools, Colleges and Universities in India.

In Japan there are no colleges : all the teaching institutions are classes either as Schools or as Universities. Furthermore, there is no multiplicity of degrees in Japan as we have in India. Graduates of the advanced higher schools, corresponding to our undergraduates who have passed the Intermediate Examination are allowed to use the title *Gakushi* but this title is not regarded as a degree.

When the thesis of a research student in a University has been approved he gets the degree of *Hakushi* or Doctor. *Hakushi* are, probably, the only degrees officially recognised.

Taking into consideration the fact that the entire population of the Japanese Empire, including Korea, Formosa, Saghalian Islands, etc., is less than one-fourth of the total population of India, the number of teaching institutions in Japan is enormous indeed.

The number of schools of various kinds are given below :—

1. Kindergarten Schools = 612. Of these 2 are Government, 252 Public and 358 Private Institutions.
2. Elementary Schools = 25,625. Of these 4 are Government, 25,457 Public and 164 Private Institutions.
3. Middle Schools = 337. Of these, 2 are Government, 254 Public and 81 Private Institutions.

4. Girls' High Schools=420. Of these, 3 are Government, 327 Public and 90 Private Institutions.
5. Higher Schools for boys=17.
6. In addition to a very large number of Elementary Technical schools there are 12,213 Supplementary or Technical Continuation Schools. Of these, 4 are Government, 12,007 Public and 202 Private Institutions.

There are Five Imperial Universities in Japan besides a large number of private ones.

In addition to the above, there are 93 Normal Schools, 48 for boys, 36 for girls and 9 for boys and girls combined. Their aim is to train teachers for Elementary Schools; none of them is a Government Institution.

Besides the abovementioned 93 Normal Schools, there are 2 Higher Normal Schools for male teachers (besides 2 Higher Schools for Women) for training teachers for :—

(1) Normal schools.
(2) Middle Schools.
(3) Girls' High Schools.

The two Higher Normal Schools for male teachers can together accommodate about 1,000 students and have a staff of about 150 teachers.

'There are a number of Government, Public and Private Institutions in Japan, known as special schools, which though providing different kinds of education of collegiate grade, form part of no University.'

The number of schools for the blind, the deaf and the dumb is 74. Of these 2 are Government, 7 Public and 65 Private Institutions.

"In the history of the evolution of Japan nothing is more amazing than the ease and rapidity with which she learnt to employ Western methods in the development of her industries. To jump at one bound from mediæval conditions to those of such an up-to-date country as America and to be able to organize her energies in one generation sufficiently well to offer serious rivalry to the manufacturing countries of the Western World is indeed a great achievement."

The Japanese Government liberally subsidised industrial undertakings, sent large numbers of young men for technical experience abroad to Europe and America, engaged foreign experts for short terms for training Japanese youth and opened a large number of state-owned factories and after running them successfully handed them over to private companies.

A separate paper should be written about the wonderful progress achieved by Japan in popularising technical education and in the employment of Western machinery, not only for satisfying her own needs but for capturing the markets of the world. I will wind up this meagre reference to technical education in Japan by giving another quotation from Mr. Masood's book :—

> " What rapid use Japan made of the technical knowledge imparted to her by the foreign experts whom she engaged for the purpose will be seen from the fact that, whereas in 1877, she had 120 English Engineers, drivers and foremen in the Railway Department, in 1880, that is to say, 3 years later, only three advisers were all that remained ; and this is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the first railway line was opened in Japan only in 1872."

The lessons that can be learnt from this brief survey of the educational system of Japan may be summarised thus :

> *India's paramount educational need is free compulsory primary education coupled with adult education. Mass education is the ultimate cure of her manifold maladies.*

The broadcast diffusion of knowledge demands the patronage of Indian vernaculars. India can never rise educationally unless her sons receive instruction in their mother tongue. A working knowledge of English as a useful foreign language should be picked up by Indians but *the medium of instruction right up to the University stage must be the mother tongue of the scholars.*

With the growth of literacy in the land we should focus our attention on the acquisition of technical knowledge. We had had enough, for the time being, of theoretical knowledge which gives only light—we stand in need of fruit-bearing knowledge. Technical education should henceforth, be the centre of our activities.

And in all that we do for bettering our lot materially and educationally, we must not lose sight of the supreme importance of independent spirit of national service of high morality and independence of character in the minds of our young men who flock to our schools, colleges, and University.

In this connection the Imperial Rescript on Education issued by the Mikado in 1890 on which the entire system of moral instruction in Japan has been based deserves our careful attention :—

> "Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters ; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true ; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation, extend your benevolence to all ; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers ; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests ; always respect the constitution and observe the laws ; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state ; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne co-eval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers."

Thus and thus alone can India, also hope to stand on her own legs, immune from foreign foes. She must first learn how to satisfy her own needs and then vigorously proceed to satisfy them all from her own mills and factories : then she may legitimately aspire to gain that independence which is her birthright. Let Japan be our model and let us try to walk in her footsteps.

F. D. MURAD

THE STINNES COMPLEX IN GERMAN INDUSTRY

At home and abroad is no man of Germany to-day more talked of,—discussed, criticised, condemned and applauded—than is Herr Hugo Stinnes. Whatever part in politics and social life he may have played in the past or is playing in the present, Stinnes is first and last what Germans call a *Grossindustrieller* or "great-industry-man" like Krupp, Thyssen, Kirdorf, Haniel and others, who like himself are associated with the great industrial concerns of North-western Germany, —in Rhine-Ruhr. And as a great-industry man, further, Stinnes is one of the greatest representatives of "trustification" which has been fast attacking German economic life in almost every branch. "From the raw material through the half-manufactured products to the finished goods,—all the stages in an industry are to be united, owned, administered or controlled by one organization,"—this is the shibboleth that may be said to be the very life-blood of the Stinnes concerns. The name Stinnes consequently spells to-day in German economic thought more of an abstract, universal, and generalized conception than a concrete personality or institution.

Stinnes has of late been known as a newspaper-man. He is the proprieter of the *Deutsche Allgemenine Zeitung*, the well-known daily of Berlin, which previously under the old regime had been the organ of the government, and of about a dozen other newspapers. To what extent, however, the Stinnes papers cater to political propaganda in the manner of Lord Northcliffe's organs is not yet patent. But one thing is clear that the journals constitute in the business eyes of Stinnes nothing but a link in the chain of half a dozen industries which supplement one another in the series of markets and goods.

Fundamentally, as is well-known, Stinnes is a coal man. The interests of mining have led him to wood and timber. He is the owner of vast forests in Eastern Prussia. In order to utilize forest produce he has undertaken the manufacture of cellulose and paper in several factories. These manufactured goods, however, are but "raw materials" for which a market has to be sought. So Stinnes has brought great printing and publishing houses like the *Berlin er Druckerei Buexenstein* and the *Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt,* both located in Berlin. The journals constitute thus a form of natural evolution in the line of "manufactures" which have their starting point in the forests.

The Stinnes concern began in **1893** just thirty years ago—in a coal mining enterprise in the Ruhr valley with a capital of 50,000 Marks (=Rs. 37,000).

In 1901 iron and steel attracted Hugo Stinnes and the *Deutsche Luxemburgische Bergwerks and Huetten A.G.* was established at Bochum with a capital of one million marks. This proved to be the centre of attraction for a number of huge coal and foundry factories. By 1911 the *Deutsch-Luxemburgische* commanded the annual delivery of 5 million tons of coal, 1, 3 million tons of coke, large quantities of ammonia, tar and benzol, as well as machines and tools for mining and furnace industries. Not only the Ruhr region but the Saar and the Mosel valleys as well came to be dotted over with the Stinnes industries. And with Bochum or Dortmund as centre the Stinnes exports commanded the entire Rhineland, Belgium and the lands overseas. By the time the war broke out there were 40,000 working men employed in the *Deutsch-Luxemburg* concern.

The third direction in which Stinnes early displayed his interest is electricity. In 1898 he founded the *Rheinisch-Westfælische Elektrizitætswerke A.G.* with headquarters at Essen. It was conducted independently of the *Deutsch-Luxemburg* but grew rapidly to such an extent that by 1912 not less than 25 cities of the Rhine-Ruhr were being supplied by it not only with electric current but also with gas and the respective installations.

Finally, among the pre-war enterprises of Stinnes must be mentioned shipping, both inland and maritime. The Hugo-Stinnes Navigation Company, consisting of 13 ships owned by itself was furnishing the European as well as extra-European coasts with coal, ores, timber and grains.

The industrial activities of Stinnes during the war are connected with German enterprise in Belgium. It is a matter of history that for quite a number of years Belgium was an occupied territory and as a consequence the Belgium industries were by "right of conquest" transferred to German hands. The *Deutsch-Luxemburg* is one of the many mining, iron, steel and other companies which in 1914 got control over Belgium through German law. Stinnes, as founder and director of this association, came thus to play a great part in the exploitation of Belgian concerns.

Belgium was, however, a temporary proposition. The transportation and marketing of his goods arrested Stinnes' attention as a more permanent item in his concerns. In 1917 was founded the company for *See-Schiffahrt und Ueberseehandel* (ocean-navigation and oversea trade). In 1918 he also purchased shares in the navigation company of which Woermann is the founder and part-proprietor as well as in the German East Africa Line. The Hamburg-America and the North-German Lloyd, the two most famous navigation companies of Germany, also came to be connected with Stinnes. The same year the German-American Petroleum Company of Hamburg was brought within the sphere of his finance.

Associated with shipping lines and oversea trade are the hotels in ports. So Stinnes bought hotels in Hamburg, the greatest emporium of Germany for foreign commerce. In other ports he was equally active. At Koenigsberg on the east and at Bremerhaven on the west he established commercial houses or brought them under his control. The command over the navigation on the Baltic Sea was assured by his purchase of the *Ostseereederei* (Eastern Sea Shipping Co.), located at Flensburg close to the border of Denmark. Orders for eleven new ships were placed with several German shipbuilding houses at the same time so that his navigation enterprise might become self-sufficient and independent.

The undertakings of the war period comprise also the purchase of vast and rich forests in Eastern Germany. These were intended to be the source of wood necessary for his mining works, as has been indicated above.

By the time the war came to an end and the republic was established in Germany (November 1918) the Stinnes concerns had also secured a great part of the " brown coal " industry of the Rhineland. Stinnes was already a synonym for vertical as well as horizontal concentration in German social psychology, as one can gather from Dr. Brinckmeyer's brochure entitled *Hugo Stinnes* (Munich, 1921).

The territorial losses of Germany through the Treaty of Versailles have dealt a severe blow to the Stinnes concern, especially, the *Deutsch-Luxemburgische*. Sixty per cent. of the coal and pig iron supplied by this mining and foundry company in 1913 used to come from the works in Luxemburg and Lorraine; which in 1918 were lost to Germany. Stinnes had enough capital at his disposal, but instead of establishing new concerns in order to replace the old he began buying up a number of works existing in Westphalia in order to serve as market for his self-manufactured goods. Factories for the production of steel, roller, chain, rivet, etc., were in this manner assured as integral limbs of the *Deutsch-Luxemburg.*

Adversity makes strange bed-fellows. Another great Westphalian mining and foundry company, the *Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks A.G.* of Gelsenkirchen, which employed 55,000 workmen and furnished 10,000,000 tons of coal in

1913, and through fusion with other works commanded the production of furnace, steel, and wire was equally hit by the peace-settlement. It was compelled to confine its activity solely to mining. Emil Kirdorf, the founder and director of this concern, who had for about a whole generation, proudly resisted the overtures at amalgamation from all quarters, at last considered it paying to enter into an *Interessen-gemeinschaft* (community of interest) with the *Deutsch-Luxemburg.* The grand trust thus formed in 1920 is known as *Rheinelbe-Union A.G.* and is to last until the year 2000.

The amalgamation was an economic necessity for both Kirdorf and Stinnes as each wanted the other to supplement him.

Kirdorf is strong in coal and Stinnes is strong in smelting furnaces and other manufactures. So the amalgamation has been mutually helpful and has served to build out of them a tower of strength.

The *Rheinelbe-Union A.G.* is a trust of "vertical" character, to employ a common technical term. Its scale of production comprises coal, ore and limestone as "raw stuff," and iron and steel as "intermediates." On the higher rungs of the ladder of manufacture wrought iron, plate, rolled wire, and tube belong to the stage of "half products," while machine-tools, screws, rivets, springs, ribs, knobs, studs, railway materials, automobiles, carriages, boats, etc., constitute the class of "finished goods."

Stinnes has since sought further expansion or heightening in the same line. This has led to the amalgamation of the *Rheinelbe Union* with a steel manufacturing company as well as the *Bochumer Verein fur Bergbau und Gussstahlfabrikation.* This latter *Verein* or association, located at Bochum, is itself a great vertical trust commanding labour to the extent of 18,000 and drawing raw materials from its own mines, coke-ovens, quartz and limestone fields. As its manufactures comprise furnace, steel-melting, foundry, roller, forge, railway material and allied goods the fusion with *Bochumer* has served to eliminate competition and strengthen Stinnes in the uppermost stage, namely, in the delivery of "finished goods." A "horizontal" trustification has been effected by the amalgamation of the *Rheinelbe Union* with the *Bochumer* in so far as each instead of militating against the other is co-operating with it on "parallel" lines of production in almost every market.

Another great event of 1920 for the Stinnes concern is its amalgamation with the electrical works known as the *Siemens-Schuckert Werke* of Berlin. Up till now the "Stinnes complex" although comprising electricity (through the *Rheinisch-westfaelische*), constituted specially a pyramid of coal and ores at the base and iron and steel products all along the line up to the vertex. But from coal and ores as basis the *Siemens-Schuckert Co.,* had grown up in more than two generations along the electrical line into one of the most powerful "vertical" combinations of industrial Germany. As the electrical products supplement iron and steel one was incomplete without the other. The fusion of the two, the electrical and the coal-iron pyramids, has produced a gigantic "horizontal" trust perhaps unparalleled in the history of manufacturing organization. The huge structure commanding as it does 200,000 working men is known as *Siemens-Rheinelbe-Schuckert-Union.* In order to fortify his position still further along the electrical line Stinnes has established relations with copper, brass and aluminium works.

The economics of trustification is at bottom identical with that of "production on a large scale" carried to its furthest logical consequences.

In the first place, the founding of a trust is almost a "technical necessity." Take the single problem of energy or power that operates the modern industries. Anthracite is not unlimited in supply. Inferior coal such as ignit, "brown" or "soft" coal has to be used. The question arises as to how to transform these inferior materials into better class fuels. Then remain electricity, oil and alcohol as sources of power. To what extent are they economically worth while? Next, the entire series of chemical processes involved in every industry is daily giving rise to inventions and discoveries and with them a whole set of problems. Altogether the industrial leader is every day face to face with the problem of "industrial reasearch." The utilization of "waste products" forces itself upon the notice. None but a large concern,—and a trust is nothing but a large concern carried to the *n*th term,—can afford to study and master these problems.

In the second place, a trust comes into being almost automatically owing to "organizational" grounds. It is not enough that the goods be produced in the most up-to-date and efficient manner. They have to be delivered also as cheap as possible. The costs of production must, therefore, be reduced to minimum. This can be assured by manufacturers only when, first, the entire "scale" of production from raw material to finished goods can be smoothly commanded by one brain or one organization, and secondly, when the horizontal competition between firms producing the same "class" of goods is eliminated by the establishment of a community of interests. In other words, the possibilities of cheap goods lie within an "empire of industries," so to speak, an economic complex in which each member co-operates with the others at the dictate of one omnipotent will.

Industrial evolution is thus running parallel to the social evolution of mankind in other lines. Trustification is nothing but contemporary imperialism embodied in the economic sphere,—a system of monopolies, pools and corners, which, humanly speaking, although not without its advantages, compels none the less the men and women within its jurisdiction to face a state of repression, passive obedience and helpless submission to the pious wishes and benevolence of the magnates and powers that be. The danger has already been envisaged by Germany, "socialistic" as the country is in its legislation. And a "cartel law" is on the anvil with the object of protecting the people and safeguarding social welfare from cartels and trusts. Curiously enough, Hugo Stinnes is himself one of the promoters of the projected legislation.[1]

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE UNSEEN MOTHER

The child was playing on bare roof,
The Mother watched unseen;
The child played free, unmindful all
Of Mother's eyes, most keen.

The child in play came close to edge
And toppled nearly o'er;
Like wish she came to struggling child,
Her child away she bore.

O'er children, peopling Universe
Thro' time, unknowing end,
The Mother's love keeps sleepless watch
The soul from death to fend.

This love they call, whose life is breath,
Disease, disaster, even death.

---

[1] The article was written by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar before the death of Herr Hugo Stinnes. Ed. C. R.

SCOTTISH CHAUCERIAN POETS

IV. The Greatest of the Makars

William Dunbar, the greatest of the Makars or old Scottish poets, appears to have been born in East Lothian about the year 1460. He took his degree as Bachelor of Arts at St. Andrews University in 1477 and as Master in 1479. On leaving the University he became a novice in the Franciscan order and in friar's garb wandered through England as far as France, preaching, begging, cheating, and according to his own confession, committing sins that no amount of holy water could wash away. He also claims that he afterwards travelled in the King's service as far as Germany, Spain, and Italy. Meantime he had left the Franciscan brotherhood, and, as a secular priest, looked for a benefice from King James IV, who, instead of giving him clerical advancement, kept him at court as a kind of Poet Laureate on a pension of £10 a year, which was increased to £20 in 1507 and to £80 in 1510. When the Scottish mission went to London in 1501 to arrange the marriage of Margaret Tudor and James IV, it is recorded in the Privy Purse accounts of Henry VII that £6-13-4 was twice paid to "the Rhymer of Scotland." No doubt the Rhymer was Dunbar, and he was the notary who was in attendance upon a Bishop Ambassador from Scotland and, while sitting at the Lord Mayor's banquet, made a ballad in praise of London. For this is recorded in the MS. containing the poem, which, though it does not bear Dunbar's name, is evidently his work. He afterwards celebrated the royal marriage in his best known and most elaborate poem entitled *The Thistle and the Rose.* He was evidently a favourite of the Queen, in whose honour he composed several other poems. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the printing press was introduced into

Scotland and among the first works printed in the Southgate of Edinburgh by Chepman and Myllar in 1508 were seven of Dunbar's poems. The volume containing them may still be seen in the Advocate's Library. Little else is known of his life except his relations with the contemporaries whom he eulogised or attacked. He probably lost his pension after the battle of Flodden.

In the history of Scottish Literature, Dunbar and Barbour are respectively the forerunners of Burns and Scott. Dunbar is spoken of by Scott as "the excellent poet, unrivalled by any which Scotland ever produced." When Scott said this, we may assume that he was limiting his survey to the old Scottish poets, in which case his judgment may be accepted. It would be too much of a paradox to place Dunbar above Burns and above Scott himself. Though he has not the tenderness and quaint quiet humour of Henryson, he is superior to that poet in power and variety. His extant poems have been distinguished by Prof. Mackay under various categories as allegorical, narrative, amatory, humorous, invective, petitionary, satirical, moral and religious. Like Burns he does not appear to have written any long poems and only one piece attributed to him was a contribution to the drama. His great qualities in which he excels all British poets from Chaucer to the age of Elizabeth are energy, vitality and command of language and metre. He resembles Chaucer in the skill with which he employs the most complicated rhyme systems without forcing the language or allowing rhyme to be the rudder of the verse. In his flyting match with Kennedy there are two stanzas of eight lines, each of them packed with thirty-two rhymes, many of them double rhymes, and yet the torrent of abuse flows on quite naturally, seemingly without any effort.

Yet in spite of his mastery of metre he never rises to the grand style, such as we find in the metrical masterpieces of the great poets. Generally his style is familiar and conversational. Burns often abandons the vernacular, when he wishes to deal impressively with a high subject. In like manner Dunbar, when he attempts a higher flight borrows from the south the language of Chaucer and the unnatural poetic diction in which Chaucer's followers delighted. Thus in his court poems such as *The Thistle and the Rose*, and in his addresses to Queen Margaret we find such aureate terms as matutine, christalline, hodiern, superne, pulcritude, and orientale rather freely introduced, which he himself calls "Chaucer's enamelled terms celestial."

Many sidelights are cast upon Scottish history from the references to contemporary events and persons in Dunbar's poems. However, there are remarkable omissions in those references. Dunbar resembles Chaucer and the other Chaucerians in refraining from taking the greater political events of the day in law, government, or war as subject matter of poetry. Just as Chaucer, though he bore arms in the French war, makes no mention of Cressy and Poitiers and represents his ideal knight as distinguishing himself as a soldier in many countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, but not in France, so Dunbar makes no allusion to the battle of Flodden, which, besides its ruinous effect on the prosperity of the country, must have injuriously affected his individual fortune. What he gives us is a series of humorous sketches of court life and of the persons with whom he came in contact in his struggles for court favour. A good many of his poems are petitions for an increase of the meagre rewards doled out to him as court poet, which may have been suggested by Chaucer's address to his empty purse. The best in this kind is "the petition of the Gray Horse, Auld Dunbar" addressed to the King in which he pathetically describes himself as an old horse grown grey in his service and begs for a Christmas gift. Appended to the poem is a *Responsio Regis* consisting of eight lines in a different metre, which may be the work of James IV himself, although no other poetical composition is attributed to him. In these lines the King orders his treasurer to take in the gray horse, Auld Dunbar, provide for him at Christmas and give him housings like a bishop's mule. Dunbar gives us pictures of court life in which it cannot be said that "vice itself lost half of its evil by losing all its grossness." Some of Dunbar's poems are offensively coarse and one of the coarsest is an account "of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer." The jovial scene at Holyrood in the days of James IV is in strange contrast with the refined diversions of the court of James I at Perth on the night of that King's cruel murder. Another coarse poem illustrating the character of James IV's court is *Of Ani Blak-moir*, described in the refrain as "my lady with the mickle lips." When she was dressed in rich apparel, she "glittered as bright as a tar-barrel." The knight who for her sake showed most prowess in the field was, we are told, to win her love. From this we may infer that Dunbar's blackamore lady was Elen More, in whose honour James held a tournament in 1507. A French champion came, in answer to James's challenge, to take part in the gentle passage of arms and the black lady appeared on the scene dressed in damask silk with gold spangles. Perhaps the best specimen of Dunbar's exuberant grotesque humour is the *Dance of the Deidly Sins* which for power and ghastly realism may bear comparison with the dance at Alloway Kirk or the procession of the seven deadly sins before the throne of Lucifera in the *Fairy Queen*.

Dunbar does not describe distinctively Scottish scenery. He looked upon the "dully glens" and the heathery mountains of the Highlands as the haunts of dangerous blood-thirsty men, who talked Ersch gibberish, while he, as a civilised Lowlander, prided himself on his "fair Engish." Nor do we find in his poems any descriptions of the countries he visited on the continent of Europe. We have, however, his impressions of London in the poem which elicited gifts from the treasury of the avaricious Henry VII and perhaps an invitation to become a dependant on the English crown, for in the *Petition of the Gray Horse* he says

> "I had been bought in realmes by,
> Had I consentit to be sold."

He describes London in his most aureate language as "gem of all joy, jasper of jocundity," with swans swimming and barges sailing on the broad stream of the river, which was then and remained until Shakespeare's time its principal thoroughfare, and with merchants royal to behold upon its pleasant bridge of pillars white. Of Edinburgh his account is less favourable. In his poem addressed to the merchants he reproaches them for allowing the city to be foul with the stink of haddock, skate and shell-fish, and the streets to be disturbed with brawls and crowded with blind and deformed beggars screaming piteously for alms. The most graphic description of the old city is given in a passage in the flyting with Kennedy. It is characteristic of the riff-raff of Scottish towns that they are always eager to flock after any strange person, a natural, a dark-coloured foreigner or a mountebank. So, when his rival appears in Edinburgh hobbling on his boots hard as horn with wisps of straw sticking out where the welts are worn, Dunbar represents the rabble as crowding about him like bees and mobbing and stoning him. The author of *Horace in Homespun* gives a spirited modernisation of Dunbar's verses as follows :—

> "Sune as they see thy snout and lantern jaws
>   The bairns cry oot 'Here comes oor ain queer clark'!
> Then flees thou like a howlet chas'd by craws,
>   While at thy buit-heels a ' the toon tykes bark :
>   Up floe the windows—mutches fra the dark
> Peer oot, an cry 'Look whaur the ruscal gaes!
>   The gallace-face ? I see he wants a sark,
>   I ride ye, kimmers, tak' in your linen claes !'
> "Then rins thou down the gate, with noise of boys,
>   And a' the toon tykes hingin' at thy heels ;

Of lads an' loons there rises sic a noise,
Auld aivers tak' the road wi' rattlin' wheels ;
And cadger-pownies cast baith coals an' creels
For noise o' thee an' clatter o' thy buits ;
Fishwives let drive at thee wi' guts an' squeals
That clash around thy lugs and clod thy cuits."

Although Dunbar is so severe in his strictures of Edinburgh, he looks upon the city in a very different light when the King stays too long in Stirling. Then Edinburgh as compared with purgatorial Stirling is a paradise of happiness overspread with the glory of heaven, where one can eat swan, crane, partridge, plover and all kinds of fish and quaff the wine of Germany and France instead of the thin small ale of Stirling. Another Scottish city portrayed by Dunbar is Aberdeen, which he visited in 1511 in the suite of Queen Margaret. Aberdeen was then the second city in the Kingdom and gave the queen a royal reception in true mediæval style. The burgesses came forth in gowns of velvet and bore over her head a canopy of crimson velvet. Scriptural and historic pageants were represented and at the cross the fountain poured forth abundance of wine.

So Dunbar bids the Queen ever to be grateful to the city for its loyal hospitality and addresses it as :—

"Blithe Aberdeen, thou beryl of all towns,
The lamp of beauty, bounty and blitheness."

MICHAEL MACMILLAN

INDIAN MINIATURES

Silence.

A butterfly,
In the sunlight,
Poised on a temple bell.

Sound.

The whine of a small mosquito,
In deafening volubility,
Drowns out the diapason of the sea.

Life.

The tuneless song of a blind beggar,
Tapping his way hopefully
Along an indifferent street.

Death.

A flame blossom
Trampled in the mire
By the foot of a coolie.

Light.

That which shines
On the peak of Kinchinjunga
On a cloudless morning.

Darkness.

A hidden pool,
In the jungle,
On a moonless night.

Cacaphony.

A swirl of strident crows
Cawing across a quiet sky.

Harmony.

The sleepy note of a night bird;
The click of bamboo boughs
Swaying in the breeze;
A moon-beam tangled in the shadows
Caressing the bosom of a quiet pool.

Loquacity.

A Madrasi Ayah
Discussing a difference of opinion
With her mistresse's husband's
Bearded Mohamedan bearer!

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

THE TARIFF BOARD

In a recent interview to the Associated Press, Mr. R. D. Tata has complained that an atmosphere of distrust is being created by all sorts of irresponsible rumours about the Tata Iron and Steel Co.,—about their policy of extensions, about their methods of sales and contracts, about their engagement of foreigners at extravagant salaries and generally about their manner of controlling the business from Bombay. He observed that confidence was the life of an industry and those who undermined that confidence were dealing a blow at the industrial progress of India. This may be conceded but when people are being asked to bear a burden to the extent of Rs. 1½ crores, they can reasonably want to make sure that the present situation of the steel industry in India does not arise from the state of affairs at Jamshedpur, but from world circumstances and deliberate attempts of foreign countries to dump their steel, regardless of the cost of production. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal's recent questions sent to the Legislative Assembly reflect the general belief that all is not well at Tata's. To the argument that they did distinguished public service during the war by supplying rails to Eastern fields and therefore have a just claim to public support, it may be replied that they were more than adequately paid for these services and the present difficulty would not probably have arisen, if instead of dividing the war profits "to the hilt," they had set aside sufficient sums as reserves for lean years.

It will be a mistake, however, to suppose that the whole purpose of the Tariff Board is to grant relief to the Tata concern. It involves large issues, which must be carefully considered. While the general question of protection *v.* free trade has been decided, rightly or wrongly, by the Fiscal

Commission, in favour of discriminating protection, it must be borne in mind that the claims of any industry to protection requires the closest possible scrutiny. This is all the more necessary, in view of the strong protectionist bias of the present legislature. Every day one finds in the newspapers some industry or other claiming protection. Without going so far as to say that a *swadeshi* substitute for Tammany Hall has already been established in the country, as alleged in a recent article, we must say that there must be a careful investigation, if the interests of the consumers are not to be ruthlessly sacrificed at the altar of the new fetish of discriminating protection.

An illustration will make our meaning clear. The infant industry argument based on economic reasons was not applicable to the cotton mills of Bombay, for these were at that time venerable infants, some of them more than fifty years old. The official policy of the Government was then a free trade one but there was such an urgent necessity for money, that they had to decide on the customs duty on piece goods more as a revenue than as a protective measure. The legislature composed mainly of capitalists and not of the people that toil and pay readily consented. Politicians seized this opportunity of hitting Lancashire which they alleged had killed the cotton industry of Bengal 150 years ago. The result was that the interests of the consumers were sacrificed for non-economic reasons. The millowners of Bombay have all along kept the price of their products at the same level as that of foreign goods and have enriched themselves at the cost of the general body of consumers. To prevent exploitation of India by foreigners, there has been an unscrupulous exploitation of the patriotic impulse of the people and of $\frac{4}{5}$ths of the population, who are agriculturists, by a few capitalists of Bombay. At the same time, the state has been unable to derive any benefit from this sacrifice on the part of the majority of the people.

To Indian Nationalists, who lie under the spell of the word "protection," we would urge that if they wish to make the present system of Government impossible by cutting off the supplies, they should seriously consider whether the proposed measure will not bring in additional revenues to the Government. For many years to come, India can never hope to manufacture her total needs of finished steel, at her present social and economic condition. A considerable quantity must come from outside, however high the duty may be. It will be pointed out in reply that this increase in revenue is illusory; for, apart from the bounty that will have to be paid to some industries dependent on steel, the railways as the largest consumers will have to bear the greater part of the burden. But the estimates of the Tariff Board of the effect of their proposals on the revenues of the country do not carry conviction.

The Fiscal Commission very justly recommended that any assistance to a basic industry like steel should take the form of a bounty rather than that of a protective duty. For financial reasons, however, the Board have been unable to recommend this form of assistance and want to make the consumers bear the burden, which is too heavy for the Government. So long as the Central Government are unable to do without the provincial contributions, it is idle to expect that they will commit themselves to any new obligations. The financial interests of the impecunious Government loom so large before the eyes of the Tariff Board that their estimates based on these should be taken with more than the proverbial grain of salt.

There are three conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission, which must be satisfied before any industry can claim protection. The first condition is an abundant supply of raw materials. Good coking coal is essential for the steel industry.

The Tariff Board has unanimously come to the conclusion that "quantities of coking coal available are sufficient for the requirements of the industry for a century or more."

But if we refuse to accept this on its *ipse dixit*, we shall find that the expert evidence on which this is supposed to be based tells a different story. Dr. Fox, who made a detailed report for the Board, writes that "the quantity of suitable fuel for an extensive iron and steel industry is limited, and the promoters of the projected extensions of the Indian iron and steel industry must bear in mind the strictly limited quantity of coking coal in the Indian coal fields."

Even if it is conceded for the sake of argument that all the conditions for the successful growth of the steel industry in India are satisfied, it should be carefully considered whether the sacrifices proposed are commensurate with the benefits to be ultimately derived. The Tariff Board admit that the world conditions are too unsettled to allow them to make permanent recommendations. If the costs of production cannot be accurately determined, how can it be said that the sacrifices which the consumers are called on to make are absolutely necessary? It is true that the Board have not recommended the imposition of 33⅓ per cent. duty wanted by Tatas, but what guarantee is there that the specific duty now recommended by them is not too heavy?

The Tariff Board have arrived at Rs. 180 as the selling price of steel per ton as a fair compromise between the claim of the manufacturers to an adequate return for their capital and the equally insistent demand of the consumers for a sufficiently low price of such a basic product as steel. This selling price is made up of three items, Rs. 120·41 for works costs, Rs. 38·24 for overhead charges and Rs. 20·96 for manufacturers' profits. These should be carefully scrutinised. In these days of sudden changes, both at home and abroad, it is very difficult to arrive at the normal costs of production. The Tata Iron and Steel Co. at first refused to publish their evidence in relation to works costs, fearing competition from the other manufacturers of pig iron in India. Eventually, they were prevailed upon to take the public into their confidence, but this part of the evidence did not receive the amount of attention it deserved.

According to the Tariff Board, "there is a reasonable assurance that at no very distant date Indian steel will be able to hold its own in competition with imported steel without protection......The sacrifice which the country is asked to make in order to preserve the steel industry is temporary." Is it really so? Will it be possible to take away the protection, once it is given? Will not vested interests militate against the removal? To take only a recent instance, the McKenna duties on imported motor cars and cinema films were introduced in England, purely as a war measure. An uncompromising free trader like Sir Reginald McKenna could acquiesce in this only for the sake of the revenue to be derived from it. The free trade principle has been affirmed by the last General Election. In view of the surplus and reduction in taxes, the duty is no longer essential for revenue purposes. Yet, a stiff opposition has been offered against the withdrawal, not only by conservatives but also by a number of labour members. Let no one be under the delusion that once the need for protection to Indian steel disappears, the duty on the imported product will automatically lapse.

Much emphasis has been laid on the fact that steel is an industry of national importance. It is imperative that it should be locally manufactured, in view of wars, when outside supplies may be cut off. It is essential for purposes of self-defence. To conserve a national industry, the necessary sacrifice should be borne by the whole nation and not by any particular section of it, *viz.*, the consumers of steel. If any assistance is necessary, it should be given by a bounty paid out of the general revenues of the country. It will be urged that this will involve fresh taxation. But that will be an acid test for determining, whether the people are willing to make the necessary sacrifice for a cause of national importance.

It is to be earnestly hoped that the legislature will refuse to be moved by mere catchwords and will make a determined stand neither for protection nor for free trade *but for fair trade.* They should carefully consider the effect of the imposition of the tariff at the scale recommended, purely as an economic measure, leaving aside all political issues for the present. It is always unwise and unsafe to mix politics with issues, which should be considered with the single aim of the economic good of the country as a whole and of the greatest good to its largest number.

"CLIVE STREET"

THE KEY OF HEART

I

Away with all thy sacred texts,
Away with all thy forms and rites,
Away with all discourses wise
That show such awful depths and heights.
I own I am the fool of fools,
A victim of world's heartless guile,
I own I'm mad for Hidden Love,
I own my sins are stinking vile.
For sin or merit what care I,
Or what care I if fool or wise,
And what care I for wretched me,
I'm mad for Love—not her disguise.
If Love but once would lift her veil
'Twill kill me with unspoken bliss.
Then what of me—sin, folly—all—
We'll die and live as one love-kiss.
If Love but whelm me o'er and o'er,
I'll live as Love for evermore.

II

Thy key of heart turn th'other way,
In blessed vision see—
In light of silent joy behold
Love, the world now hides from thee.
The joys of all thy senses five,
The joy of lordship's proud command,
But turn from world to hidden Love—
No joy beside that joy can stand.
Thy key of heart turn th'other way
And all this life will own thy sway.

III

O, make this key, Love, strong and bright
And we will break world's cruel might.
  With Love-washed eyes I see
  My Heart-Key's none but Thee.

LOVE AND MERCY (*a*)

O Love, Thou liest hid in all,
  The vision of joy to pure in heart;
No eye of flesh has pierced thy veil,
  No mind has minded what thou art.
Unbid, unknown thou roamest free,
  Amid these haunts of pain and strife,
Out-deckt in garments, mercy called,
  Awakening hearts from death to life.

THE DIVINE HUNTER (*a*)

A beast I roam'd the wilds of life
  In search of fleshly, false delights—
Delights that last a wink of eye,
  To gather, costing days and nights.
The Hunter hit me with the shaft,
  The word of God—that's call'd by men ;
It pierced my flesh, it pierced my heart,
  It rankles still, it outs not 'gain.
With folded hands and bended knees
  I supplicate that Hunter kind—
That for my countless wounds may I
  In Him alone sweet solace find !

LOVE'S AMBASSADRESS* (*a*)

The love of God transcends all law,
  To men it looks illicit lust,
The saints of God my panders be,
  Else pine and pine and die I must.
Lend ear all, beknown of Him,
  Beneath His feet my anguish lay;
Shall I then pine and mourn for Him
  —For Him in vain shall heart mine pray?
The Lover He of all His souls—
  To fancy ardent women they;
In law to world they're wedded all
  In truth is He their all alway.

* In Sanskrit and Vernaculars *dūti*, the go-between in clandestine amours.

NOTE.—All the above lines, marked (*a*) are suggested by words of Charandās, the poet-saint of Hindusthan and his woman-disciple Dayābāi (18th Century A.D.).

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE ELECTRIFICATION OF THE TATA IRON WORKS AT JAMSHEDPUR[1]

I am pleased to have this opportunity of meeting you and hope that my remarks will prove to be both useful and interesting.

SURENDRANATH GHOSH
Chief Electrical Engineer, Jamshedpur.

I propose, first of all, to tell you something in regard to the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Of the numerous industrial enterprises on which Mr. Tata had embarked, the manufacture of Iron and Steel was one and by no means the least important.

In 1875 Mr. Tata began exploring in order to find suitable raw materials located in close enough proximity to each other to make the venture an economical success. It is unnecessary to detail too minutely all the preliminary work that was done. But it is sufficient to say that after having consulted many experts in other countries, and after having spent considerable sums of money on exploration work, the venture was so far advanced in 1907, and the results were so satisfactory, that it was decided to form a Company, and begin the manufacture of Iron and Steel. Unfortunately, before all of the spade work had been finished, Mr. Tata died (a photograph of his statue is shown in Fig. 1), but his sons, having followed closely all of his investigations, and having the courage of their father, carried out his programme without interruption.

---

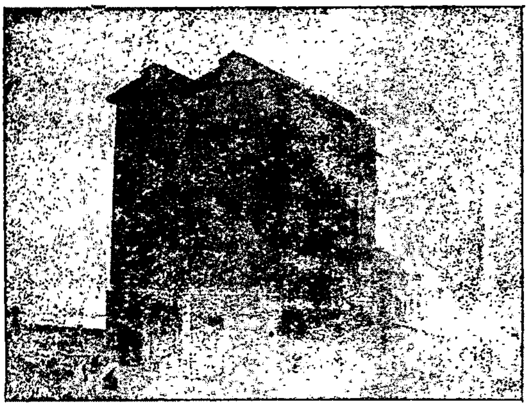
[1] Photographs supplied by kind permission of Mr. T. W. Tutwiler, General Manager.

1. Photograph of the Statue of the Late Mr. J. N. Tata, the *Founder* of the Tata Iron and Steel Company.

In 1907 they formed a Joint Stock Company with a strong and influential Board, inviting the public to subscribe the necessary Capital. The Company was named "THE TATA IRON AND STEEL CO. LTD." and was formed for the purpose of creating in India Blast Furnaces, Steel Furnaces, Rolling Mills, Coke Ovens and their accessories necessary for the manufacture of Pig Iron and Steel in its various forms. At present, about 1 per cent. of the whole of the world's product of steel ingots, which is about 50 million tons per year, is produced by The Tata Iron And Steel Company, Limited.

The steel which is manufactured by this Company is chiefly used in the making of rails, cars, buildings, bridges, etc. A very great quantity and variety of equipment is required to produce this vast tonnage. The management of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. has been quick to realise the advantages of electric drive. Some of the advantages are ease of control, increased safety, increased production and economy; therefore, electric drive is now applied to most machinery used in the production of steel. The steel industry represents one of the largest fields for the endeavours of electrical engineers. More electric power is being used in the production of steel than in that of any other commodity.

To reduce the ores to pig iron, a large quantity of coke is required, hence the Steel Company having to meet this vast demand, have installed some of the biggest and most up-to-date plants for producing coke and other by-products of coal. The Coke Plant consists of 180 Coppee Non-recovery coke ovens and a battery of 50 Kopper's By-Product coke ovens which produces coal tar, sulphate of ammonia and gas, besides coke. There is also a Simon Carve Sulphuric Acid Plant for manufacturing sulphuric acid for converting the ammoniacal liquor into sulphate of ammonia (Fig. 2);



2. The Sulphuric Acid Plant.

In addition to the above, three batteries of 50 ovens each of the Wilputte type are also in operation at present in connection with the new extensions to the Works.

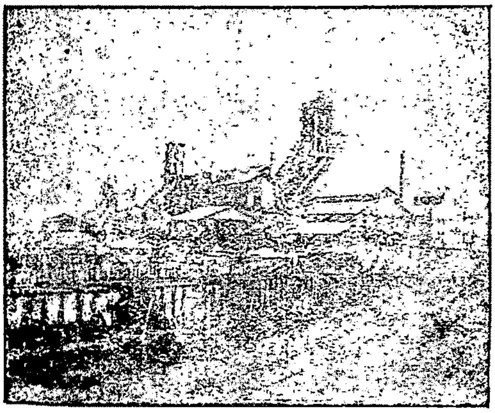
In handling this great amount of coal from the wagon to the finished coke, there is a large equipment of electrical machinery which is both labour-saving as well as efficient in its control, a brief description of which will not be out of place. In the Wilputte Coke Ovens (as shown in Fig. 3.), the coal is delivered through a hopper to a belt conveyor system worked by electric motors and conveyed to the Breaker mill. Here, foreign material in the coal, such as iron, is separated by the Magnetic Separator. The coal is now dumped into bins electrically from which it goes to the Pulverisers, which is driven by a 3,000-Volt induction motor. The pulverised coal is now dumped in a large bin by another electrically driven belt conveying system. The ovens are charged by a charging lorry which is hauled up and down the whole plant electrically. The contents of the ovens, both before and after carbonisation, are levelled and cleared respectively by an electrically operated Coke Pusher equipment.

3. The Wilputte Coke Ovens.

Volatile gases, tar, etc., are again controlled by a time-operated electric motor, placed in a suitable location in the gas mains.

The supply of gas and air to the ovens in proper sequence is controlled by a clock-operated, and perfectly automatic, electrical control system. To separate the tar, there is another electrically driven pumping equipment. For safety in operation, there are several push button control stations at various points for the conveyor system. So that from the foregoing you will see how electricity has entered in the manufacture of the fuel for the Blast Furnace Plant.

This plant consists of five blast furnaces. Out of these, three are of 300 ton capacity and two of 500 ton capacity each.

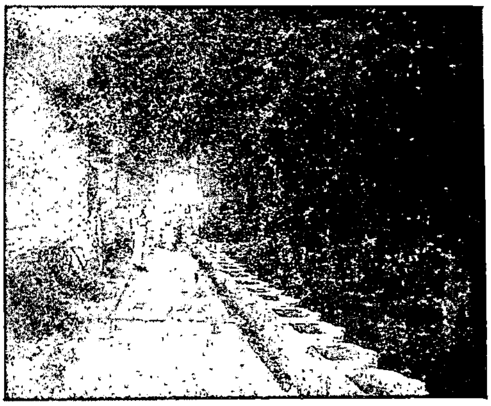


4. New Blast Furnaces.

In the operation of the new blast furnaces (shown in Fig. 4) of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., practically every process, such as the controlling of the bells and the driving of the pumps, is also accomplished most efficiently by the use of electricity. The lime-stone, coke and other raw materials necessary in the production of the pig iron, which are brought to this plant, are lifted to the blast furnace by an electrically operated skip hoist. A primitive type of blast furnace is shown in Fig. 5.

5. Primitive Type of Blast Furnaces.

From the Blast Furnace, the molten metal is taken to large storage vessels, known as Mixers, and here the metal is stored until required by the Open Hearth Furnaces or Bessemer Converters, as shown in Figs. 6 and 7. These mixers are rotated into position for pouring by electricity. The Steel Works Plant consists of one 300-ton furnace, called the



6. Discharge side of the Steel Furnaces.

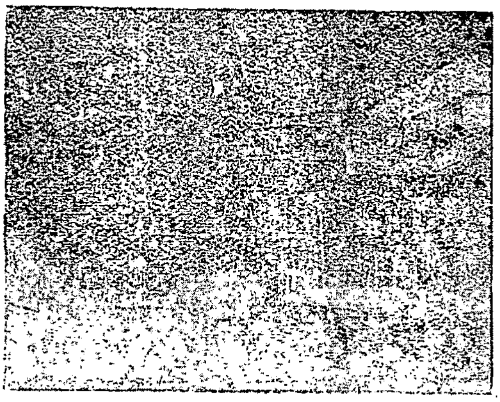
Mixer, and seven stationary open hearth furnaces. Out of these, four are of about 50-ton and three of 70-ton capacity each, per heat. In the extensions to the steel works there are two 25-ton Bessemer Converters and two 200-ton tilting furnaces together with a 1200-ton Mixer.

7. Duplex and Steel Plant.

In addition to these a 6-ton electric furnace is also in course of erection.

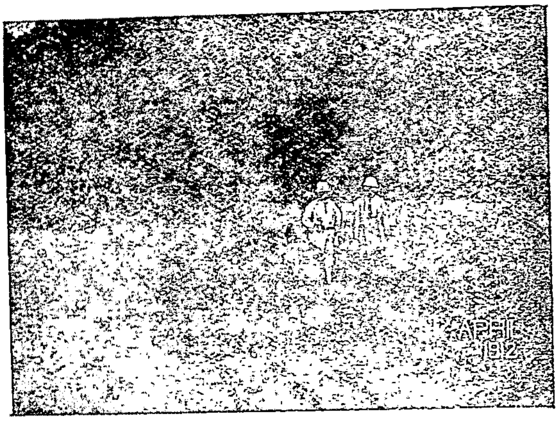
8. Blower House for Bessemer Converters.

Fig. 8 shows the Blower House equipment for Bessemer Converter. This blower is driven by a Mill type induction motor of 3600 H.P., 750 RPM., and 3000 Volts. A ladle into which the charge is poured is taken to the Open Hearth Furnace or Bessemer Converter by electric power, and its contents are poured into the furnace by an electric crane. Scrap iron and ore or lime-stone, which are added to the charge in the Open Hearth Furnace, are placed in iron boxes; these boxes are seized by an electrically operated charging machine, which, thrusting them into the furnace, empties its contents and withdraws the box; the arrangement is shown in Fig. 9. Electric power is used also to pour the molten metal from the 200-ton Open Hearth Furnace into the ladle, which is moved by a 150-ton electric crane to the pouring floor, where the molten metal is cast into ingots. As soon as the metal is partially solidified, an electrically driven stripper removes the moulds from the ingots. Electrically operated hands, called Soaking Pit tongs, place these ingots in the heating furnace while they are still at a high temperature. The Soaking Pit crane delivers the hot ingots to an electrically operated tilting bogie which places them on an electrically driven roll table, which in turn carries the ingots



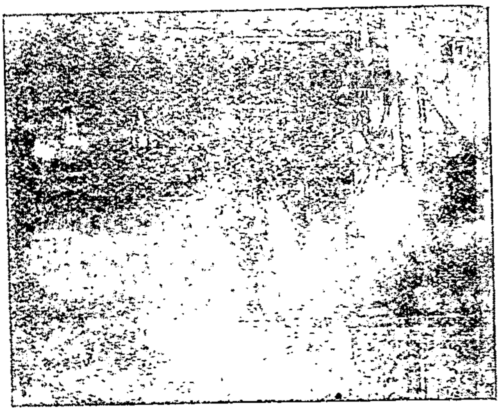
9. Platform side of the Steel Furnaces.

in a proper position for entering the mills as shown in Fig. 10.



10. Ingot Bogie at the Old Blooming Mill.

A great many of the present steel plants were put in operation before suitable electrical apparatus had been developed for their use. The main rolls are driven by large reciprocating steam engines which are often non-condensing. The original plant of the 40″ Blooming Mill and 28″ Rail Mill in the Tata Iron and Steel Co., which is also driven by large reciprocating steam engines of 11000 and 12000 H.P., respectively, is shown in Fig. 11. These steam engines would be considered very wasteful at the present time, but were the best apparatus obtainable when originally installed.

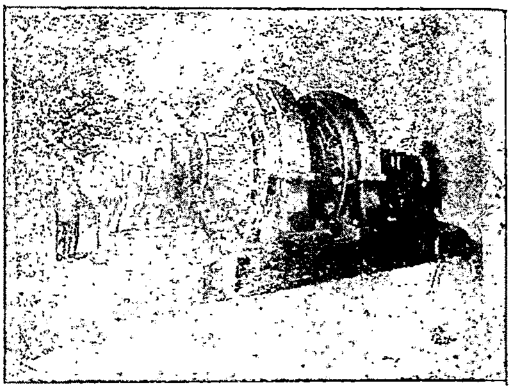


In 1905 motors were first applied in rolling mill drives. The original installation was made at the Edgar Thomson Works, Bethlehem, U.S.A., consisting of two 1500 H.P. Westinghouse D.C. motors connected to the main rolls of a light rail mill. One of these motors is shown in Fig. 12.

12. 1500 H. P. Westinghouse D. C. Motor.

Power for their operation was supplied by engine-driven D.C. generators in the power house. These motors were non-reversing. At one time it was believed by many engineers that reversing motors could not be designed to meet this condition. Later developments have proved that these fears were groundless.

In 1907 the Westinghouse Company furnished an 8000 H. P. reversing mill drive to the Illinois Steel Company, as shown in Fig. 13. This drive was to operate a 30″ Universal

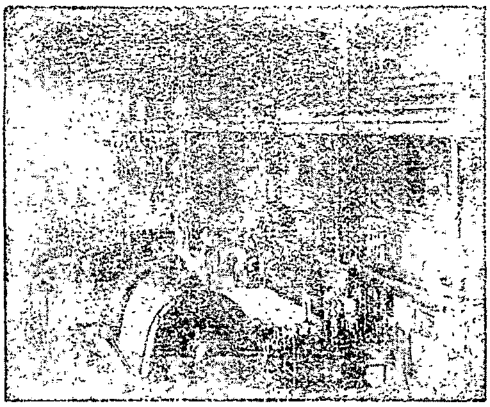


13. 8000 H. P. Reversing Mill Drive Motor.

Plate mill at the South Chicago Plant of the Illinois Steel Co. This was the first Reversing Mill drive in the U.S.A. and the Second in the World. This equipment also was successful and is still giving good service.

The success of these two installations proved that electrical apparatus was both dependable and efficient. Progress was very rapid from this time. Within the last 20 years, electric drive has been applied in almost every operation in steel plants.

When steel plants first started to electrify, the generating units which they used were of small capacity and were usually engine-driven. The increasing use of electrical apparatus in the mills has made it necessary to enlarge greatly the generating stations. The power plant has now become a very important part of the entire plant and demands a great deal of attention of the engineering forces of the Plant.

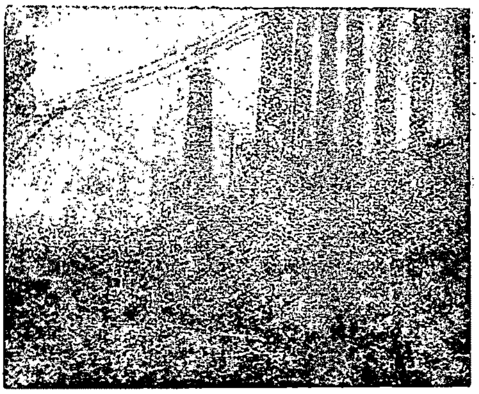


14. Interior of the New Power Station.

The present trend is toward the use of Steam Turbine Driven Generators in Power Houses. The new Power Plant of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., consisting of two 10,000 and one 5,000 K.W. Turbo Alternators supplied by the General Electric Co., America, is shown in Fig. 14. Fig. 15 shows the interior of the old Power Plant. The total capacity of both the old and new Power Stations of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., is 37700 K.W.

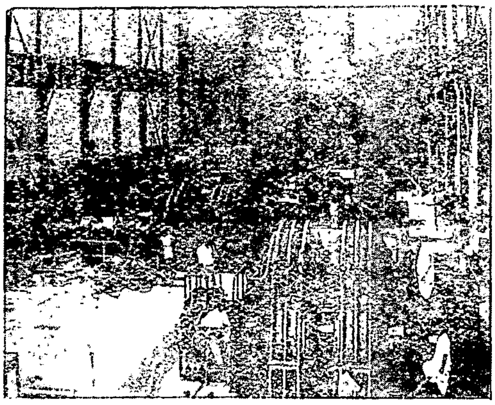
15. Interior of the Old Power Plant.

The Boilers of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., shown in Fig. 16, are equipped to burn either blast furnace gas or coal. Large Turbine Units have a very low water rate, but still mill men are inclined to use small units. This is because continuity of service is of greater importance than economy in operation. They, therefore, use a number of small units so that the loss of one unit would not cripple the entire plant. With this system the spare units are smaller. The Turbo generators now used in the Tata Iron and Steel Co. range from 1000 to 10000 Kilowatts.



16. The Boiler House.

One of the chief advantages of the electric drive in the Tata Iron and Steel Co. lies in the fact that the power is generated in one Power Plant and transmitted over a wide territory with small losses. Steam would be made much more economical if the boilers could be located together, but the losses in transmissions would more than offset any saving resulting from a centralised boiler plant. The peak loads of various mills overlap, and a much better load factor is obtained than if individual power stations were used. The total boiler capacity is, therefore, considerably reduced.



17. Interior of the New Blooming Mill Motor House 5600 H. P. D. C. Motor. The Flywheel set in background is 4000 H. P. Induction Motor direct coupled to three 2000 Kw. D. C. Generators.

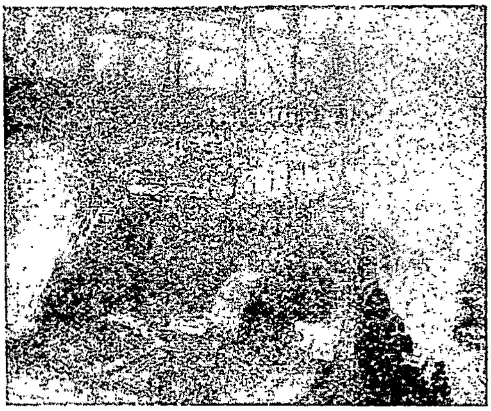
The General Electric Co. of America furnished one 5600 H.P. Mill Drive, capable of developing momentary peaks of 22000 H.P. at 50 R.P.M., to the Tata Iron and Steel Co. This motor is shown in Fig. 17. This drive is to operate the 40″ Blooming Mill at the new Steel Works. It came into operation on the 1st of November, 1923, as an important feature in the Greater Extensions of this Company, which, when complete, would take its place as one of the large steel-producing works in the world. This mill is of the Mackintosh Hemphill type, with a productive capacity of

1000 to 1400 tons per diem, and is undoubtedly the biggest of its kind in Asia, as also an entirely new type of machinery. It will roll at once steel ingots into slabs for Plate Mill, blooms for rains, structural shapes, billets and roughed-out blanks for 20″ and 24″ beams.

A motor generator set which generates D.C. current for the main motor of the mill, is provided with a 50-ton Flywheel. This flywheel, which is 14′-6″ dia., and runs at 375 R.P.M., is made up of 3 pieces—2 solid steel discs with an annular ring forming the rim. The discs are each made in one piece, and, on account of their large diameter, special arrangements had to be made for their transport from the jetties at Calcutta up to Jamshedpur.

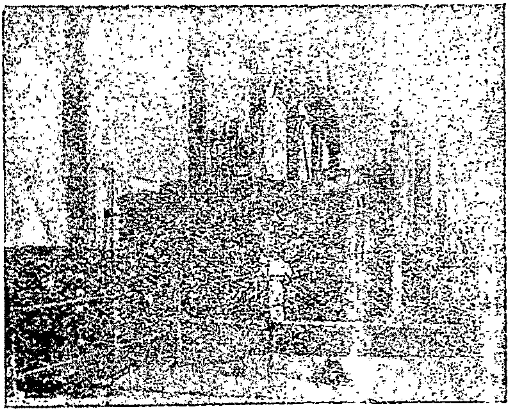
The Flywheel Motor generator set, as shown in background of Fig. 17, consists of three 2000 K.W. D.C. generators, 1-4000 H.P. induction motor and one 100,000 lbs. flywheel, all mounted upon a common base. The total weight of the motor generator set, including the flywheel, is approximately 487,000 lbs.

The control of this machine is essentially Illgner Ward Leonard system, by which the power input to the induction motor is equalized by means of the flywheel through the control of a slip regulator, and the speed and direction of the main mill motor is regulated by controlling the fields of the D.C. machines. Separate excitation is applied from a 250-Volt exciter set for each of the motors and generators. The two motor fields are connected in series and three generator fields are also connected in series. The direction of rotation and the speed up to 55 R.P.M. on the mill motor is controlled by generator voltage. For speed above 55 R.P.M. up to a maximum of 120 R.P.M. the control is by means of motor field. The sequence of operation of the magnetic contactors handling these fields is governed by a pilot motor-driven master controller. The principal feature of this controller is its automatic regularity in the control of the operation of the field conductors, thereby giving a uniform rate of change in the speed of the mill, irrespective of the manipulation by the operator.



18. Blooming and Rail Mill Motor House Switchboard.

The control equipment for the 4000 H.P. Induction Motor driving the flywheel set, consists of two triple pole oil circuit breakers, one of which is used for normal operation of the flywheel motor generator set, and the other for plugging the induction motor in order to obtain a quick stop, and the operation is from a switch board of remote control system as shown in Fig. 18. The secondary control equipment for



19. Slip Regulator for the Flywheel Motor Generator Set.

the induction motor consists of a liquid slip regulator shown in Fig. 19. This slip regulator is provided with a torque motor, the windings of which are connected to the secondaries of the series of transformers located in the line leading to the primary circuit of the main induction motor. The purpose of this torque motor is to adjust the position of the movable electrodes of the slip regulator so that the resistance of the secondary circuit of the induction motor driving the flywheel may be varied, and the speed of the set regulated so that an approximately constant input from the line to the induction motor will be maintained. As the load comes on, the speed of the set is decreased and the portion of the stored energy of the flywheel and the other rotating parts is transformed into useful work at the motor shaft. During light load, the flywheel is automatically accelerated and the rapidly fluctuating loads of the main mill motor are effectively prevented from reaching the incoming power line.

In order that the induction motor may be plugged to stop the flywheel set quickly, additional iron grid resistance is provided. This additional resistance is connected in series with the liquid slip regulator, and is necessary in order to limit the current which will be drawn from the line when the induction motor is plugged.

The whole of the rolling process from the ingots to the finished blooms or slabs is done electrically.

The new rail mill of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., which will come into operation very soon, is furnished with a G.E.C. 6300 H.P., 80 R.P.M. Reversing Mill Motor capable of developing momentary peaks of 15500 H.P., at 75 R.P.M. This reversing mill motor is exactly similar in design as in the 40″ reversing Blooming Mill.

20. Bar and Billet Mill.

The Continuous Sheet Bar and Billet Mill, shown in Fig. 20, will reduce the blooms into sheet bars and billets for the sheet mill. In this mill there is a 2300 H.P., 375 R.P.M. mill type induction motor for the 24″ mill and a 4000 H.P., 375 R.P.M. motor for the 18″ mill.

21. Merchant Mill.

For the 12″ merchant mill, shown in Fig. 21, the main drive is a 2500 H.P. mill type induction motor of 450/375/300 R.P.M., with a speed regulating set of 475 KVA, 500 R.P.M. and 3000 Volts, and for the 8″ merchant mill, the main drive is a 600 H.P. 550-500-350 R.P.M. motor with a speed regulating set of 190 KVA and 750 R.P.M.

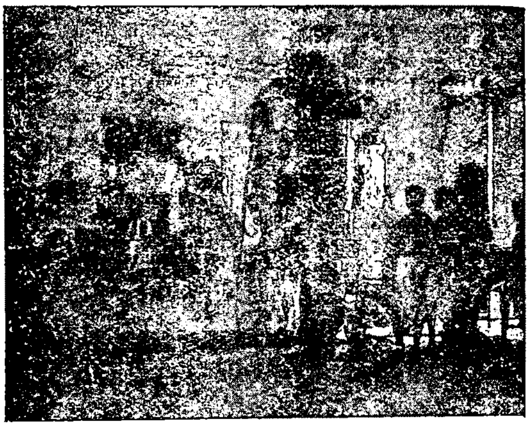
The sheet mill will produce sheets to any widths up to 38″ and of any thickness from ⅛″ to 1-100th of an inch. The main drive is a 1500 H.P. 250 R.P.M. 3000 volts Mill type Induction Motor.

22. Plate Mill.

In the Plate Mill plates are produced from ⅛″ to 1¼″ thick in various widths up to 84″ and various length up to 50′. The mill is driven by a 2500 H.P. 200 R.P.M. 3000 Volts Mill Type Induction Motor. Figs. 22 and 23 show the Plate Mill and the Main Motor for this Mill.

23. Main Motor for Plate Mill.

The limit of application of electricity in the steel industry has not yet been reached. Improved processes, new applications, and the ever-increasing demands for more efficient operation will keep the Electrical Engineers of this Company always on the alert to meet new and exacting requirements.

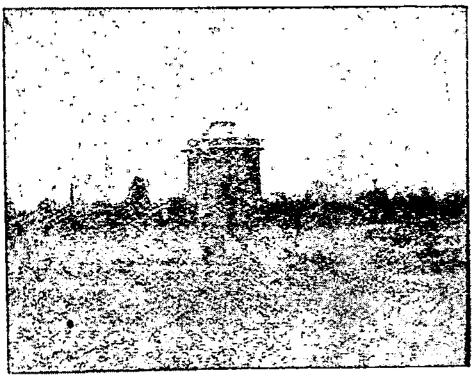


24. Interior view of the River Pumps at *Subarnarekha.*

The supply of water for the works and also for the large population living in the adjacent area is made by pumping from the Subarnarekha river which is at a distance of two miles. There are five Sulzer High Lift Lumps, each of 4 million gallons capacity per diem at a head of 170 ft. These are driven by 250 H.P. 3000 volts, 980 R.P.M. vertical type Induction Motors as shown in Fig. 24.

25. Interior view of the Town Pumping Station.

The Town is supplied with water filtered by the Jewel Filter system, and the water is pumped from the Town Pump House as shown in the Fig. 25, to the central reservoir (Fig. 26) from where it is distributed. The Town Pumps are Sulzer's Horizontal Type Pumps of 2,160,000 gallons per diem at a head of 205 ft., and are driven by induction motors of 145 H.P.

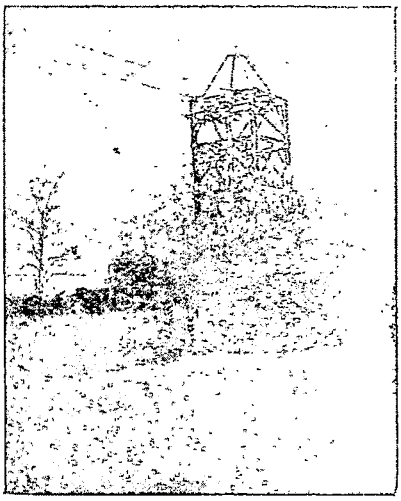


26. Central Water Reservoir.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company, at present possess 70 overhead electric cranes ranging from a capacity of 3 tons to 200 tons each.

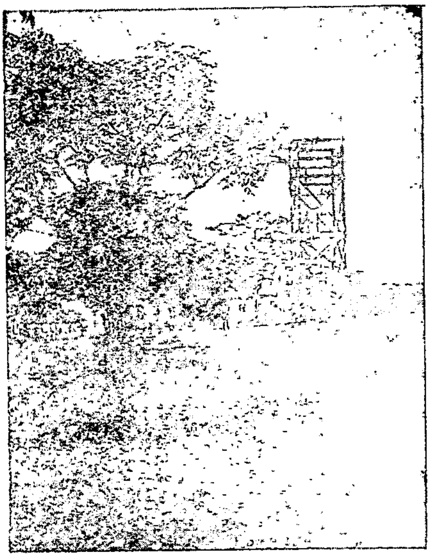
The whole of the works has been supplied with electricity, and, wherever possible and convenient, motors are used. For example, in the foundry, machine shops, pattern maker's shop, etc., there are motors for blowers, plaining machines, saws and other tool machines. Altogether there are 1300 motors in use in the whole plant now, ranging from ½ H.P. to 6300 H.P.

The lighting effect inside the works is carried out by means of about 7000 lights. These consist of lights varying from 16 C.P. to 1000 C.P.



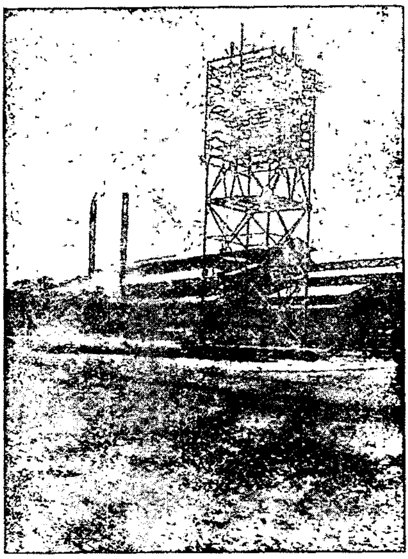
27. D. C. Town Distribution Station.

Fig. 27 shows the D.C. Distribution Station, and Fig. 28 the outdoor type Transformer Sub-Station, for A.C. Lighting System in the Town. These take care of about 1,500 fans and 6,000 lights that are in use in the Town.



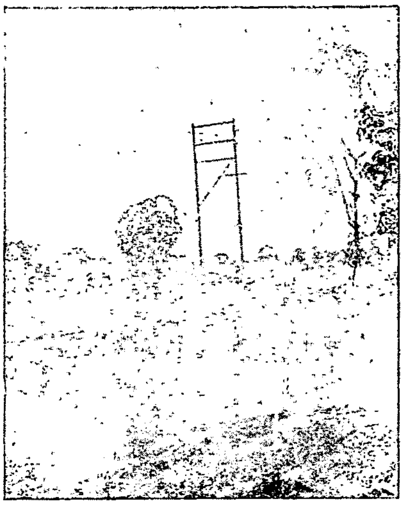
28. Outdoor Type Transformer Sub-station.

Fig. 29 shows one of the many towers carrying H.T. Feeders from the Power House to different parts of the Works and the subsidiaries.



29. High Tension Junction Tower.

Fig. 30 shows a double rail mast for our transmission lines. The rails and cross arms of these masts were manufactured in our works at Jamshedpur.



30. High Tension Double Rail Mast.

Before I close, I would like to thank those gentlemen, specially the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., who have given me assistance in enabling me to read this paper.[1]

SURENDRANATH GHOSH

---

[1] "The Electrification of the Steel Mills of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd.," was the subject of an interesting lantern lecture delivered under the auspices of the Jamshedpur Technical Institute, on Monday the 21st of April, by Mr. Surendra Nath Ghosh, Chief Electrical Engineer of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd. There was a large audience present, and Mr. W. Saunders, Director of the Jamshedpur Technical Institute, presided.

Educated at Queen's College, Benares, Mr. Ghosh received his technical training at the Manchester School of Technology and the British Westinghouse Elec. and Mfg. Co., Manchester. Formerly Lecturer and Demonstrator at the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, Mr. Ghosh has been with the Tata Company for the last ten years. He is a Member of several important scientific societies and associations. He is one of the few Indians that have been entrusted with responsible positions in the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Mr. Ghosh evidently belongs to that type of men who can, in the shrewd judgment of the American management, "deliver the goods." Mr. Ghosh is in entire charge of the Electrical operation of the huge plant, including the extensive additions recently made by the Company. He is also a great social asset, being immensely popular among all classss, and his only foible is an aversion to the modern virtue of self-advertisement.

In the preparation of the paper which Mr. Ghosh read, he had the assistance of Mr. A. K. Sen. Mr. Sen after passing out from the Sibpur Engineering College, was employed by the Tata Company, who sent him to England for a course of practical training at the British Thomson Houston Co., Ltd., Rugby. Mr. Sen is now back in India, in the service of the Company.

THE CHARM OF BUDDHIST LITERATURE

(*An Appreciation*)

At the very outset of this slight sketch, let me beg of those readers who are unacquainted with Pāli or Sanscrit, not to let this fact deter them from the study of the greatest of Eastern Philosophies. The most important of the Buddhist works can now all be read with full and complete enjoyment in the beautiful translations of Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids. To them, and to other labourers in the rich fields of Indian wisdom, we owe a debt of gratitude which, perhaps, we have been ever tardy in acknowledging.

That Buddhist literature should have preserved its attraction for 2,500 years and be now drawing an increasing number of Western admirers, is surely a testimony to that faith which, in the words of Sir Edwin Arnold

> "has in it the eternity of a universal hope; the immortality of a boundless love; an indestructible element of faith in final good; and the proudest assertion ever made of human freedom."

But this high creed was well served by the writers of its Scriptures—better, perhaps, than any other faith has been—and whoever chose the words in which the most important points are stated chose them very carefully and well. But that is not all; wherever we may wander through those fairy fields of the Buddhist books, whether it be through the discourses—the Suttas—the birth stories or the questions of King Milinda, we are conscious of having won such a refuge from the fret and fever of life; such a calm serenity of faith in final and enduring good, that we long to persuade others to drink at the same full fountain head, instead of being content to take the meagre drops offered to them in so-called "Lives of Gotama" and histories of Buddhism.

For we have something to learn from these writings today. Formerly, the close preserve of the linguistic expert, they are now open pasture to the layman. And as we wander we shall have excellent company. Saints, philosophers and kings, noble men and women, move with us through these enchanted pages; the dumb animals seek to draw near and befriend us, begging us to remember that all life is one. The little wingèd songsters ask us in the immortal words of Francis Thompson, "Oh, you have blessings for men, have you no blessings for the birds?" The story of evolution, as seen by those wise men of long ago, unfolds itself before our eyes; the gods in their heaven seek to be men once more, to find that path which even they have not known; and the frailty and failings of humanity are shown in guise most tender and compassionate.

Let us take that wonderful prose work, "The questions of King Milinda"—labelled 'uncanonical' by the scholars. This opens with the beautiful introduction describing the life and trials of the sage, Nagasena. The narrative is full of light and colour and moves onward as inevitably as a full river. Here occurs the story of the lady—ever nameless—who invited Nagasena to take his mid-day meal at her house. When he had eaten, he wished, as was customary, to give thanks; whereat the lady said:

"I am old, friend Nagasena. Let the thanksgiving be from the deeper things of the faith."

And so, in pronouncing the thanksgiving, Nagasena dwelt, not on matters of ordinary morality, but on those things relating to saintship. So great was his eloquence that as the lady sat there listening there arose in her heart "the clear and stainless insight into truth which perceives that whatsoever has beginning has also the inherent quality of passing away."

Then we are told that the sage, who was then but twenty years of age, suddenly felt in his own heart the force of the truths he had been preaching and himself entered upon the way which leads to *Arahatship*, winning from his own teacher the encomium—

"Well done! Well done, Nagasena! By one arrow shot you have hit two noble quarries!"

Would that other preachers were so ready to take to heart their own words!

Near the end of the first volume of the Milinda there is the delightful story of the perfect wife who was left behind in the village while her husband went on a journey and who remained alone and in privacy, refusing to do wrong, even when tempted with a thousand pieces. King Milinda asks Nagasena how he can reconcile this story with a saying in common use, wrongly attributed to the Buddha—

"With opportunity and secrecy
And the right wooer, all women will go wrong."

The sage (then more than twenty years old, we suspect) suggests many explanations which completely satisfy his questioner. He agrees with the King that the lady was blameless in this instance, and continues—

> "But the question is, would she have done wrong on receipt of these thousand pieces, with the right man? Or would she not have done so, given the opportunity, the certainty of secrecy and the right wooer? The lady was not certain of any of these things. She refused to do wrong because she was not sure of keeping the thing secret from the world, or, because, on consideration, she found no right wooer."

So our sage satisfies the King and dismisses the lady, with the suggestion which Pope gives us in other words!

The treasure is endless and cannot be more sampled in an article of this nature. But if any reader have followed me so far, I would beg him to read the *Suttas* in Vol. XI of the Sacred Books of the East. Here every Sutta is a jewel. We have the Book of the Great Decease. The story is luminous and crystal clear, where the Master, grown old and weary, knows that the fitting time has come for him to lay down the burden of this life.

Accompanied by the beloved disciple, Ananda, we follow his wanderings for his last few days in this world. We note his courtesy, his carefulness, his tenderness to all. Pealing out like a great refrain we hear the words so constantly repeated—

"Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when set round with upright conduct."

We hear him insistently dwelling on the four noble truths and the seven jewels of the law; we come to the lovely story of Ambapali, the courtesan with whom he ate his mid-day meal, much to the discomfiture of the Likkhavi princes, who offered to buy this honour from her with all their territories; we see Ananda distressed by the thought that the Blessed One, "He who is so kind," is about to leave them, and we hear the Buddha's reply, "Be a lamp unto yourselves; look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves."

And at last we meet Kunda, the smith, a humble man who comes to hear the Master, and is incited and gladdened by his discourse. Kunda begs the Buddha to do him the honour of taking his mid-day meal with him; and, on his accepting, the working man makes ready the best he has, a meal of dried pork (some translators say, mushrooms) sweet rice and cakes. And directly the Master is seated he says, "As to the dried pork you have prepared, Kunda, serve me with it. Give the sweet rice and cakes to the brethren."

And when he had eaten, the Master said to Kunda, "Whatever is left of the dried pork bury in a hole, for by no one but a Buddha can that food be digested!" And yet there are writers who say that Gotama had no sense of humour!

This was his last meal. Directly he had eaten, dire pains fell upon him; still he walked with Ananda for a little way, then called for water; and later asked Ananda to fold a robe in four and spread it out, for he was weary and fain would sleep.

But in spite of his distress he thinks of Kunda, the smith, and fears that some may blame him for having caused the death of the Buddha. And then Gotama, like the great-hearted gentleman that he was, calls Ananda and says—

> "Now it may happen that someone should stir up remorse in Kunda, the smith, by saying 'This is evil to thee that when the Blessed One had eaten his last meal from thy provision, he should have died.'"

And he begs Ananda to check any rising of remorse in the smith's mind by saying to him :—

> "This is good to thee and gain to thee, Kunda, that when the Master had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. Thereby has been laid up by Kunda, the smith, a karma redounding to length of life, good birth, good fortune, good fame, the inheritance of heaven and sovereign power."

Later, lying between the twin *sala* trees, which "were all one mass of bloom and flowers out of season" Gotama passed away from living, as we term life, admitting to the very last any who wished to see him, all whom he could help.

Oh, Welsh wizard, who clothes the story in such lovely garb, and would have us believe that the originals are lovelier still!

And if any tell you that Buddhism is a religion of melancholy and pessimistic tendency, let me again beg you to go to the Suttas themselves and gather your own impressions.

In commending this Buddhist literature to your notice I cannot do better than quote from the introduction to the "Book of Kindred Sayings," so beautifully translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids :—

> "And even as we wander on there will move before us, luminous and serene, the central figure of the great-hearted Gotama bringing us to the wood's end......................so that we receive successive impressions of his great good sense, his willingness to adapt his sayings to the individual

inquirer; his keen intuition, his humour and smiling irony, his courage and dignity, his catholic and tender compassion for all creatures."

These books are all well worth studying to-day, not only for their pure literary charm and beauty, but for "that peace which passeth all understanding," which is assuredly the reward of those who read them with a longing for truth and wisdom.

NORAH FORSYTHE

'THE YOUNG BENGAL' AND TRANSLATION-WORK

In the second half of the last century the sympathies and interests of the educated youthful classes in Bengal were with everything English, and anything Indian was very often looked down with a repugnance hardly paralleled elsewhere. On the eve of an impact with a foreign literature, its glow and glamour is bound to have a very telling effect on the conquered people who are liable to be easily carried away by everything foreign and not native to the soil. This was exactly the case with the educated young Bengalees of the time who were no less obsessed with the motives and ideals of a huge masterful foreign literature and imbued with the manners and customs of the foreigners themselves. Some of the highly renowned men of the century were thus carried away by the English spirit and ideals in life to such an extent that they managed to obliterate their own identity with the same easy facility as was characteristic of the English people after the Restoration. Thus was coined the peculiar term 'Young Bengal' with a sarcastic fling upon the real worth and capacity of the youthful section of our country. Thus wrote a shrewd critic :

"'Young Bengal' is generally a Calcutta Babu—a young man of course—with a smattering of English which he fails not to dignify with the name of solid learning......He is an ultra-fashionable in dress. The cordiality with which he performs his devoirs at the toilette would do credit even to a Quaker beauty of the last century......instead cf confining himself to the European ward robe, he must needs rummage that of his quondam Governors and oppressors and lay it also under contribution. ....In his table, he is as nice as in his apparel and equally amphibious. Beef.........is with him an unparalleled delicacy.........In health who is so mighty as our hero? No sooner he applies the cup brimful to his lips than you find its bottom parallel to the ceiling.........in common parlance he would most unceremoniously drag poor Shakespeare and Milton from their repose and misquote the most familiar passages.[1].........With all these extraordinary qualifications, he appears in print and rising on stilts harangues his countrymen, making a parade of his learning and setting forth in glowing terms his own importance as a reformer of the times...... ever attentive to his own pleasures and pecuniary interests, he is reckless of the means he resorts to, to come by them. Money and sensual delights are the goddess of his idolatry ; to them only he bows and for them he is ready to do everything.........He eats beef, cracks whole bottle of Cognac at Spence's or Wilson's but as soon as he makes his appearance in Native Society, he is as it were metamorphosed into a new being. He is then a pattern to the most thorough-going Hindu."[2]

The period may be best described as the 'genial period' of Bengal[3] and the highly extravagant Weimar life of Goethe may be very well compared with the irresponsible and reckless attitude of young Bengal. "In their orgies they drank wine out of skulls (as Byron and his friends did in their wild days), and in ordinary intercourse exhibited but a very mitigated respect for *meum* and *tuum*, borrowing handkerchiefs and waistcoats which were never returned. The favourite epithet of that day was 'infinite': genius drank infinitely, loved infinitely and swallowed infinite sausages."[4] But there was a redeeming feature, too, of this highly overdrawn picture of 'young Bengal,' as given by the writer of the *Citizen.* Admitting the grievous fact that these educated young people rubbed off the boundary-line between scoundrelism and decency in their fantastic zeal for everything English, we cannot minimise the importance of the part they played in engrafting some of the best things in the foreign literature on Bengali literature itself. They helped to build an arch between the East and the West, and in the opening years of the century under review, they served as interpreters of one great country to another, even though, some of their estimates were products of a vitiated moral and literary judgment. Again, some of the noble pioneers in this direction, *viz.*, Pearychand Mitra, Michael M. S. Dutt, Justice Dwarkanath Mitra, Harischandra Mookerjee, Sambhunath Mookerjee of the *Reis and Rayat* fame, were finished argumentative writers of the time who could stand comparison with even the most renowned contemporary writers at home of some of the same topics that they handled. Really speaking, they could forge no better instrument for linking one country with another and certainly they could imitate in their own lives the best English ideal of the times, which though it had a denationalising and depressing effect, interpreted one country to the other in a sympathetic manner. Thus the study of the Shakesperean dramas received a fresh impetus at the hands of some of the best scholars of the day, *viz.*, Derozio and Capt. D. L. Richardson, both of the old Hindu College in Calcutta. Their study of the Shakesperean dramas was highly eulogised by Lord Macaulay. They used to create a love of the dramatic art amongst their own students and this loving contact of the teacher with the taught went a great way in establishing a few well-recognised theatrical parties. The histrionic art, no less than the dramatic, attained to a stage of refinement and culture at this time.

---

[1] This remark is true to the letter and very aptly applies to some of the social comedies of the following period, *e.g.*, those of Michael Dutt and Dinabandhu Mitra.

[2] *The Citizen*, Tuesday, July 8, 1851.

[3] "The 'genial period' was the period when every extravagance was excused on the plea of genius."—*Life and Works of Goethe*, by G. H. Lewis, Second Edition, p. 212, *footnote.*

[4] *Ibid, op. cit.*, pp. 212-13.

Again, side by side with this love for, and culture of, a foreign dramatic literature, there sprang up an ardent desire amongst the people for resuscitating the old Sanskrit dramas. These dramas used to be acted with great applause, but later on, a general popular demand could not be created owing to the difficulty of the language. Thus arose a busy translation-work in which we find reproduced into Bengali the best works in Sanskrit, English, French, Greek and Latin. This process of translation is at work even now, but during those days the work of translation was fraught with immense consequences, and the infant Bengali language proved its muscles quite successfully on many unknown themes and topics. Some of the best dramas of Shakespeare were also translated. Even long before this, the English people evinced a genuine desire to learn Bengali. We find a curious advertisement printed in very rude Bengali with a peculiar orthography about one hundred and thirty years ago:

"ইংরাজ এব° বাঙ্গলি লোকের সিখিবার কারণ এক বহি অতি সিঘ্র ছাপাখানায় তৈয়াব হইবেক সাহেব লোকে বাঙ্গলা কথা সিখিবেক এব° বাঙ্গলি লোকে ইংৰাজি কথা শিখিবেক অতএব সকল লোকেৰ কেফাএত কারণ এই বহি তৈয়াৰ করা জাইতেছে জে ২ লোকে চাহে তাহাৰা সে° আবজান [Mr. Up-John] সাহেবেৰ ছাপাখানায় আসিয়া লইবেক ইতি সন ১৭৯২ ইংৰাজী তারিখ ১৯ মার্চ সন ১১৯৮ বাঙ্গলা তাৰিখ ৯ চৈত্র।"[1]

Mr. A. UpJohn used to publish the *Chronicle* from "8, Loll Bazar" and the present passage is not only illustrative of the peculiar kind of eighteenth century Bengali, but it also reveals a keen desire for interpreting the native and foreign languages. Turning to the attempts of the natives in the direction of translation-work, we find a Vernacular Literature Committee was formed to which belonged such eminent persons as Içvar Chandra Bidyāsāgar, Joykissen Mookerjee, Prosunna Kumar Tagore, Rasamoy Datta, W. Setton Karr, Rev. J. Long, etc., and liberal contributions were made by them for the propagation and amelioration of Vernacular Bengali Literature in which some translation-work was made, *e. g.*, *The Life of Columbus* (by Bhudeb Mukherjee), *Life of Sivaji* (by Rangalal Banerjee), *Selections from the Native Press* (by Rev. J. Long) and the publication of an *Annual Register*.[2]

Just thirty years before this was founded the Calcutta School Book Society, an association formed for "the preparation, publication of cheap or gratuitous supply of works (English as well as Asiatic) useful in schools and seminaries of learning," excluding works strictly of a religious nature, or which might interfere with the religious sentiments of any person. "In 1821, its fourth year,...........its progress had been carefully observed, the labours and designs of the Society received the unqualified approbation of government, with the grant of considerable pecuniary aid, *viz.*, a sum of 7,000 Rupees, and a monthly contribution of 500 Rupees. The works distributed by the Society since its formation amount to 104,182 copies in the following tongues, *viz.*, Sanskrit, 340; Bengalee, 63,347; Hindusthanee, 7,622."[1]

---

[1] *Vide The Calcutta Chronicle*, Tuesday, March 20, 1792.

[2] *Vide The Citizen*, Monday, July 12, 1852.

There were other clubs and associations formed under the auspices of many nationalist Bengalee leaders. In the annual meetings of the David Hare Memorial Association many current topics of immediate public interest were discussed; in one such anniversary, Kaliprasanna Sinha delivered a discourse on Bengali Drama.[2] Kaliprasanna also established in 1855 what is known as *Bidyot-sāhini Sabha.*[3]

There was a theatre attached to this association which staged *Benī-saṃhār* by Ramnarayan. Kaliprasanna had the instinct of a born translator. When only seventeen, he rendered into chaste Bengali Kalidas's Sanskrit drama *Bikramōrbaçī* which was dedicated to His Highness the Maharajah of Burdwan. In November, 1857, when this drama was put on board, he himself took the part of Pururavas. The late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, too, played a part.[4]

---

[1] *Vide The Asiatic Journal,* March, 1826, in an article called, *Progress of Education in British India,* p. 325.

[2] *Vide The Life of David Hare* by Peary Chand Mitra.

[3] *Vide* সংবাদ প্রভাকর, February, 1856:

"এই সভার বয়ঃক্রম এক বৎসর হইল, ইহার মধ্যে দেশের অনেক কুপ্রথা পরিবর্ত্তিত হইয়াছে তাহার সন্দেহ নাই, প্রথমতঃ ইতিপূর্ব্বে এই কলিকাতা নগরে একটিও বাঙ্গালা সভা ছিল না, শ্রীযুত বাবু কালীপ্রসন্ন সিংহ মহাশয় বিদ্যোৎসাহিনী সভা প্রতিষ্ঠা করাতে অধুনা অনেক ভদ্র সন্তানেরা আপনাপন বাটীতে এক এক বাঙ্গালা সভা প্রতিষ্ঠা করিয়াছেন।"

[4] "There was a large gathering of native and European gentlemen who were unanimous in praising the performance. Among the latter, Mr., afterwards, Sir, Cecil Beadon the then Secretary to the Government of India, expressed to us his unfeigned pleasur at the admirable way in which the principal characters sustained their parts." *Vide The Calcutta Review,* 1873, in an article, *Modern Hindu Drama* by Kissory Chand Mitra.

These evidences are sufficiently symptomatic of a healthy national regeneration in Bengal about this time. A casual glance at the following list of important translations from different foreign and Indian languages into Bengali will convince even the most sceptic of critics that the best achievements are very soon to come.

1. *Lives of Solon and Publicola*[1] (Bίoι παραλληλοι), translated by Somnath Mukherjee, 1863.
2. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*,[2] translated by Tarini Charan Chakravarti, Calcutta, 1863.
3. Milton's *Paradise Lost*,[3] translated in 1869, Calcutta.
4. Hans Christian Anderson's *Tales*, translated into Bengali by Madhusudan Mukherjee, between 1857 and 1867, *e g*., চীনদেশীয় বুলবুল, কুৎসিত হংসশাবক, মরমেত (Mermaid), পুত্রশোকাতুরা দুঃখিনী মাতা, বিচার অর্থাৎ বিদ্যালয়স্থ বালকদিগের দোষপরীক্ষা।
5. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*,[4] translated into Bengali as যাত্রিকের গতি, Calcutta, 1854.
6. *Romeo ēbang Julietēr Manohar Upākhyān*,[5] translated by Gurudas Hazra, 1848.
7. *Prōbōdh-chandrōdaī Nātāk* by Krṣṇa Miçrā, translated by Kāçīnāth Tarkapañchānan, etc., 1855.
8. *Mālatī-Mādhab*,[6] a comedy of 12 acts in verse and

---

[1] *Vide* Blumhardt's *Catalogue of Bengali Books in the Library of the British Museum*, London, 1886, p. 102.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

[3] "The work is described on the title-page as Bose's Works, Pt. I. No clue has been found as to the full name of the author." *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

[4] Vide *Supplementary Catalogue of Bengali Books*, by Blumhardt, 1910, p. 43.

[5] Perhaps the first Bengali rendering of one of the best known European tragic stories. We have not been able to trace any other Bengali version of the story prior to this. The theme veritably seized the Indian imagination with a clinching interest.

[6] The dedication of this book runs thus:

"This translation
is
Most Respectfully
dedicated
to all
Lovers of the Hindoo Theatre
by the
Translator."

prose of Bhababhūti, translated into Bengali from the original Sanskrit by Kāliprosanna Siṇha, pp. vi. 91, Calcutta. 1859.

9. *Maithilī-Milan-Nātak,* an adaptation in the colloquial Bengali dialects of Bhababhūti's Sanskrit drama *Uttar-Rām-Charit.* pp. viii. 215, Calcutta.

10. *Mahānātak,*[1] Sanskrit play in Madhusūdan Miçra's recension, with a Bengali translation by Rāmgati Bhattāchāryya-Kabiratna, pp. 192. Calcutta. 1878.

11. *Chārumukh-chittaharā-nātak*—an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,* pp. ii. ii. 185. Cal. 1864 by Harachandra Ghoṣ.

12. *Telemachus* by Rajkrṣṇa Banerjee, Cal. 2 parts 1858-60. *Adventures of Telemachus* translated into Bengali.

13. *Chandrābatī* by Nimāichānd Sīl (Reynolds's *Loves of the Harem*).

14. *Bhānumatī-chitta-bilās* by Harachandra Ghoṣ—an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice.*

15. *Anutāpinī-naba-kāminī,* from Nicholas Rowe's *Fair Penitent,* freely translated into Bengali prose by Syamacharan Das Dutta, pp. 124. Cal. 1856.

16. *Suralatā Nātak* by Pearylal Mukherjee,—an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice,* pp. iii. 108, 1877. Calcutta.

The preface to this work contains—"মদ্রচিত মৎপ্রণীত ও মদনুবাদিত অন্য অন্য নাটক হইতে মালতী-মাধবের ভাষারও প্রভেদ হইয়াছে।"

[1] Thirty years before this was published Rājā Kālīkrṣṇa's *Mahānātak* in original, with Bengali and English translations, which was dedicated to Queen Victoria. The title-page and the interesting Dedication Letter are transcribed here :

"श्रीमन्महानाटकः। अर्थात्। वीर। श्रीयुक्त नृपति रामचन्द्रचरित। श्रीमद्धनुमताविरचितग्रन्थः। इदानीन्तु मूलसंस्कृतादुद्धृत्य तदर्थ इङ्गलण्डीय भाषया। श्रोभावाजारस्थ श्रील श्रीयुक्त महाराज कालीकृष्ण वाहादुरेण अनुवादितः। नगरवर कलिकातान्तर्गत। सारसंग्रहयन्त्रे श्रीनवकृष्ण सरकारेण मुद्राङ्कितः। शकाब्दा १२६२।

प्रधान (तम ?) ग्रेटन-आइरलण्ड महाराज्यद्वयाधिकारिणी कृपाप्रकाशिनी। परमाराधिनी विविध-यशस्विनी प्रतापशालिनी महाराज्ञी। श्रीमती विक्टोरिया। साम्राज्यवर्द्धिनी विजयिनी लोकप्रतिपालिनी नानानीतिशास्त्रविनोदिनी। मुनिगणगुणग्राहिणी सम्मत्यनुसारतः संस्कृत प्रचलितः। श्रीमन्महानाटकग्रन्थस्य। इंलण्डीय भाषयानुवादः। सैनकराजक श्रीकालीकृष्णदेवकर्त्तृकः। तन्महाभिधानोद्दे शतः। कृतोपायनः।"

17. *Tom Jones Nāmak Rahasya Nātak*—an adaptation in verse and prose of an incident in Fielding's *History of Tom Jones* by Maheschandra Das De and Gopal Chandra Nath, pt. I. pp. 12. Calcutta, 1863.

18. মহাকবি সেক্ষপীয়র প্রণীত নাটকের মর্ম্মানুরূপ লেম্বস্ টেলের কতিপয় আখ্যায়িকা, etc., translated into Bengali by E. Roar, pp. ii. 212. ii. Cal. 1853 (one of the Bengali Family Library Series).

This catalogue may be lengthened out *ad infinitum.* All these translations, it must be noted, had a very important influence on the structure and contents of Bengali literature after the English models. Stories, anecdotes, dramas, myths, biographies, nouvellettes, comic dialogues, farces, essays, adventurous incidents were freely reproduced into Bengali in prose and verse adding to the paucity of our infant literature between the years 1800 and 1860. Only a few of these dramas, enumerated above, translated from Sanskrit and English, were actually put to the board before an enlightened audience by amateur theatrical companies. The staging had a signal effect on the minds of the educated public and gradually a demand arose to create a national literature of our own. But it took a good deal of time before the writers had a clear conception of the plot, technique and constitution of drama after the European type. It frequently happens that a fascinating story has been introduced, but the dramatic garb given to it hangs loose about it. Or again, in a second case, the constitution of the drama is all right, but there is hardly any story-element worth the name capable of dramatic reproduction. Sometimes the language is so flamboyant and over-wrought with sentimentalism that the story is deeply buried under a mass of verbiage. This was often the case with regard to most of the dramas of this period. The true conception of drama was very gradually evolved out of a vague notion that identified *yātrās* with *kabir-gāns, half-ākhrāis* with *pāñchālis, tarjās* with recitatives pure and simple. In some of these varieties, the conversational element is present, but that is no reason why they will be called dramas in embryo. The song-element is only an accessory and not the determining factor of drama. The essence of true drama lies in the evolution of character through a well-knit plot without any projection of the writer's notions and ideas into the book itself. Unfortunately this was not detected in view of the overhanging incubus of the hard and fast rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy. Thus the building up of a national dramatic literature in Bengal exactly synchronises with a similar movement in Germany under the auspices of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing and Herder.

MOHINI MOHAN MUKHOPADHYAY

EVOLUTION OF STATE CONCEPT IN ANCIENT INDIA

IV

The intimate connection of the state with law and order gave it a clear association with moral ideas. But there, too, the relation which subsisted was a peculiar one. The Hindus conceived of morality as something higher than a set of rules guiding the conduct of men and thereby ensuring success in this world. Rather than this, they took into account the finer elements of consciousness in the individual discriminating between right and wrong which exist apart from progress or deterioration in this existence. It was thus something which depended on the development of the inner man. The state could but control external actions, and could hardly establish a moral standard.

But moral realisation was possible only in a state of freedom from the engrossing influence of the materialistic world. The state by maintaining order simply ensured the individual's freedom to realise it. Consequently it was the means, which paved the way to the development of morality rather than the supreme expression of morality or order, as Western idealists like Hegel would have it.

The state not an end but a means.

The next important topic for us will be to discuss the important point as to whether the Indians regarded the state solely as a means, or looked upon it as an end in itself. In this connection divergences of opinion existed in the past and exist even to-day.

The Greek with his æsthetic concept of life, constantly thought of realising the ideal in an organisation, which could not only solve his ethical problems but also helped him in realising his highest goals. The centre of the Greek culture was man, "yet not man unqualified but the noble man—man æsthetically considered." With them the individual and the state stood in the closest possible relation. The state was the individual magnified, while the individual was "the State in miniature." Consequently, the ideal state was the *summum bonum* of Greek existence. Everything was merged into it,—the citizen's life, his social existence, and his political activity.

In India the state of affairs took a different turn. The Indian philosopher like his western brethren began with the individual, and it was to give him the highest amount of benefit that the state was conceived. But, the concept of life, as also of the individual was different from the beginning. The life of the individual, was something more than an existence in the realistic world. It was intimately connected with something transcendental. It was nothing more than a mere phase in a greater and higher existence. Neither enjoyment nor sorrow was its end. It had a higher spiritual purpose.

Simultaneously, the Indian analysis of the individual was something peculiar to the race. In man were detected elements of higher consciousness, apart from his ordinary desires, his worldly needs and aspirations, the longings of his animal instinct, and the frailties of his flesh. Such an analysis led to the concept of the Chaturvargas or the Puruṣārthas (or the desires of the individual), *e.g.*, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha. For the fruition of these, a social arrangement was conceived, peculiar to the Indian mind and peculiar to the Indian concept of life and its ideal. The individual life was conceived as a bundle of duties and aspirations. To perfect this life a disciplinary training was given in the four stages of life. This was independent of the state. At the same time the material aspect of his life was taken into consideration. For his life, propagation of the race, and the attainment of his desires man must remain intimately connected with the material world. The furtherance of this object became the aim of the political organisation.

Its chief functions were as we have seen—the maintenance of social order, and help to enable the individual to have his chance in life—to realise himself. The first was attained, by the punishment of wrong-doers, and by rewarding the worthy—the second, by giving him all possible active help.

The state thus was not, and cannot be regarded from the Indian stand-point as an end in itself but was a means to a greater end—*e.g.*, man's self-realisation and his attainment of salvation.

Forces in the Evolution of the State.

In India as elsewhere various factors contributed towards the evolution of this state ideal—desire for life and protection, the social instinct and—Religion.

Without entering into a discussion as to the contribution of each of these forces, we may say something as to the nature of the action which religion exercised on the state-concept. At first sight it appears to the Western observer that the Indian state ideal seems to have been moulded entirely by the religious ideas of the people. Religion seems to have exercised an overwhelming influence. A closer examination, however, reveals that with the exception of the early Vedic and the Brāhmanic period, the influence of religion on the building of the Indian State has been very small. In that early age the influence of religion was immense; the Purohita acted as the *alter ego* of the king. He was regarded as the rāṣtragopa. The king, too, offered oblation on behalf of the community. Later on, however, religion played not an active part. Its service was entirely passive.

Even this statement may appear paradoxical, especially when we meet with the maze of rituals and the vast array of ceremonial, the mass of formulæ, the continuance of the Purohita's office, the preponderance of the Brahmin in the council of the king.

Yet careful enquiry bears out the truth of the remark. Nowhere in the history of Indian culture we find a similar conception of religion as is to be found in the West or in the Semite lands. We in India have never a religion in the sense in which it is used in the West. We have only our social system which hold together different communities professing their belief in one common moral standard and in some philosophical tenets. This social system was at once too narrow in many points and too catholic. The supposed preponderating influence of religion appears to be almost nil. The Indian mind freed itself early from the shackles of dogma. No attempt was ever made to set down hard and fast rules for the religious observances of the people. Philosophic toleration came in along with the ever-increasing insight into ethical and moral considerations. Religion lost very early its primitive character as a bond of union. Higher speculations as regards the cosmical world as well as the quality of the soul undermined a fanatical partisanship of dogma and ceremonial. The state, too, had lost its real connection with religion even at the earliest phases of growth. What remained was nothing but an outer garb of ceremonial and it was allowed to exist, partly because we have in the Indian mind a veneration for the past and a love for the traditional customs of our forefathers.

The State never became a Theocracy.

Owing to this lack of an intimate relation between religion and the state, the latter could never take a theocratic turn. It was never thought that the state should come forward and prescribe rules for the religious instruction of the people. A man's religion or his belief was not taken in determining his place in the body-politic. There was hardly any room for that. The Rishis themselves differed in their philosophical tenets. The great systems manifested divergences on vital points. All this emancipated the State from religion. Ecclesiastical supremacy as conceived in the West was denied to the head of the state. As a result of this we had in India hardly any wars about religion—no religious animosity—no feeling of hatred for followers of other religion—and India became a refuge for men whose religion had led them to be persecuted in their own lands.

Conflict of Ideals.

The above concept of the state was the product of conflicting ideals. A deeper enquiry would convince us that not only was there a conflict of opinions due to differences in viewing the problem of politics from different aspects, but that two ideals—and those of two races—were in conflict, *e.g.*, the ideals of the Brahmin and that of the Kshattriya, the two races, who by their co-operation and also by their conflicts did so much to evolve the various aspects of Indian culture. Closely connected, the two races had contributed to the glories of India. The latter stood for dominion and expansion—the former for systematisation and order. The one thought for the community as a whole, the other for the individual. The one stood for collectivism, the other for individual effort; the one for obedience—the other for self-realisation; the one for the will—the other for reason. Out of this struggle emerged the peculiar concept of state and of its duties and functions. The Kshattriya ruler yearned for his sovereignty "indivisible and absolute." The priest contended for the total emancipation of society from politics. Out of this came out this harmonious compromise.

The Ends of the State.

So much for the characteristics of the state. We may now make up for the deficiency caused by the lack of a definition of the state. In our view the state may be regarded as the highest political organisation for the well-being of the community, so far as the material aspect of life was concerned. The Indian mind, so prolific and original in many directions, displayed its originality in conceiving the state. That institution never came to signify the 'highest form of existence' or the most perfect machinery for the mental and moral elevation of man. The aim and object of Indian culture was to evolve types of humanity; to enable the individual to attain his own ends—the fruition of the four objects Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha. They did not circumscribe the scope of its action, or limit the exercise of its sovereign powers simply for police work; nor did they invest the state with powers too extensive to deal with the individual as it liked. They saw clearly the sphere to which its actions might safely be delegated, without circumscribing the scope of action of man's superior nature, and in this the state was allowed a free exercise of its authority. In all other spheres, the activity of the state was circumscribed. In one sphere they allowed the state free activity, while in the other the individual was allowed free play. A clear distinction was made between the two. Man was regarded both as a means and also as an end. In the first instance, man must look to the wellbeing of society, would help others and be helped in helping himself. Herein he came under the full scope of state activity. His maintenance—his opportunity for self-realisation—protection of his life and property—everything was delegated to the care of the state. But beyond this the jurisdiction of the state came to an end. In matters of higher development the state had nothing to do. The individual was fully emancipated. The rights of the state, moreover, were not absolute, but were limited and thought to be merely arising out of contract. Herein lay another characteristic.—Idealism did not carry its concept to that logical fineness which we find in the state concept of the Westerners, both ancient and modern. To the Westerner the state remains even to this day the highest institution which the genius of man could devise—a thing which would bestow the highest benefit on man. But to the Indian the state never signified this idea. It was, as we have seen, a means to a greater end. It never became with them the highest God on Earth.

Social and Spiritual Instincts of the Race influence the Political Ideal.

Thus we see that in the development of the state the peculiar ideals of India, spiritual and secular, contributed their quota. The safety of the individual and his material prosperity were its chief concern. In conceiving the state, moreover, they pre-supposed the existence of fundamental institutions and organic laws and these could not be disturbed. The social ideal, too, was regarded as sacred. The state could not meddle with these and society was left with a certain amount of autonomy to evolve its own working. Each section or group worked for its own. Equality never became a political necessity—the sole aim of life was never identified with the desire for the settlement of equal benefits in the material sphere.

This latter circumstance has indeed stood in the path of progress in the modern sense of the word. But judged by effects the state as conceived by Indians had two redeeming features. Of these we shall take into account its scope of action and absence of rigidity.

The Indian state had a scope of action which was not narrow. It would admit within itself men of all castes and creeds irrespective of their origin, custom or religion. Foreign elements with diverse religious and social ideas came and settled in India and thus added to its strength. In the days of India's political greatness the state presented to the world this high and noble ideal.

Herein it bears a great contrast with the Greek ideal of state. The fine idealism of Greek culture confined the state within the limits of the city—nay—to the governing element of that small community. The ideal was rigid—it could not expand. Greece for ever remained divided into the narrow and isolated communities : the ideals of humanity were to her confined to the city and hardly had any room for expansion. Such an ideal continued to exist till the last days of her existence and when the genius of the semi-barbarian Macedonian attempted the expansion of the Hellenes, the Hellenic ideal lost itself in the midst of the barbarian whom it had vanquished and felled to the ground.

The only redeeming feature of this narrow ideal was its tendency towards the strengthening of the bonds of solidarity among the members of this small community. In India such a solidarity was indeed lacking. The widest possible divergences were allowed to exist amongst the communities; mutual hatreds, too, existed and there was hardly any attempt to bring all sections to a common standard. Rather than have unity the Indian delighted in diversity. Yet her ideals were nobler and higher. There was no lack indeed of that narrow patriotism, nor were there any germs of a narrow nationalistic ideal, which made her people often look upon outsiders with contempt and suspicion, but there ever was the presence of the human and cosmopolitan ideal, which we cannot find elsewhere—not even in civilized Europe—until we come to the middle of the last century or the dawn of the present.

These two characteristics are worthy of note. They give us not only an insight into the Indian ideas of state, but throw some light on the chief ideals which influenced politics.

India in decay has forgotten her past. She is now the butt of ridicule with the Westerner, who denies her a place in the history of political development, mocks her pacifism and scoffs at her tenacity to the past.

Yet history will prove that in her arose those political ideals—which looked more to humanity than to the solidarity of the narrow social group. Here it was that conscience was freed from dogma. Here it was that oppressed nationalities found refuge from time immemorial. Here it was that men could live side by side inspite of differences; here it was again that the germs of cosmopolitan ideals first manifested themselves—ideals for which the thinkers of our own civlized modern age are sighing in vain.

(*Concluded*)

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANDYOPADHAYA

THE SINGAPORE NAVAL BASE

(A Study of British Diplomacy in the Far East)

The proposal of the last Conservative Administration to develop a first-class Naval Base at Singapore to provide for the needs of modern battle-ships and for the mobile efficiency of the British Fleet in the Pacific, and the subsequent decision of the Labour Government to postpone the Construction, have been criticised in and out of Parliament. The subject has been from time to time discussed in the Press, and many must be familiar with its details, but a review of the circumstances in which the British Government came to adopt this plan and later on abandoned the scheme is a necessary preliminary to a discussion or criticism of the Labour Government's recent decision to postpone the naval project. We shall not consider here whether a first class naval base at Singapore is absolutely necessary for the mobility or even for the ultimate safety of the British Navy in the Pacific. It is not also our purpose in this article to enquire if "Singapore is," in the words of the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, "an indispensable base at one of the great strategical centres of the world" or if the projected naval base in the Far East is essential to enable the British Fleet in the future to perform the very important duties of protecting the Self-governing Dominions like Australia and New Zealand, or whether the decision to drop the proposal does really constitute an act of "desertion of the colonies" and finally leads to "imperial disintegration." Nor should we examine here how far and to what extent, the decision to abandon Singapore has been, as Mr. Winston Churchill has pointed out, "a repudiation, an act of ungrateful and blind refusal without precedent in British History on the part of the Mother Country to discharge an imperial duty," and has imperilled the security of the British Empire. These are issues which are quite beyond our province and naturally we do not make comments on them. Questions of strategy, and of what kind of ship or geographical location of base may be safely and prudently referred to scientific and up-to-date naval experts. We have absolutely no quarrel with that. Our object is simply to study the question from an Asiatic standpoint or rather from the point of view of the countries and nations of the Far East.

Let us now look into the history of the scheme. We are told that the project was discussed as early as 1920 by the Committee of Imperial Defence, and, with the support of this body, it was approved by the Cabinet and countersigned by the Imperial Conference of 1921. Mr. Bonar Law's Administration once more referred the matter to the Committee of Imperial Defence which further examined the scheme with the same result as before. It was in these circumstances that the Baldwin Government submitted to the House of Commons in March, 1923, the proposal to convert Singapore into a first-class naval base and the late House of Commons, as it contained a Conservative majority, quite naturally agreed to the scheme and readily sanctioned the Navy estimates.

But the most important question from our point of view is what was the necessity for so hastily embarking upon a scheme of a fresh naval base at Singapore just after the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, when the ink of the treaty paper was hardly dry. Upon a clear and unambiguous answer to this point turns the underlying and real significance of the British Naval policy, or rather, British Imperialism, in the Far East.

The economic and political interests of Great Britain in the Pacific have become more than a century old. Ever since 1793, when a British ambassador, Lord Macartney, arrived in China to request further trade facilities and the establishment of a permanent British diplomatic representative in the

Court of Peking, England has been interfering in China and forcing upon the Chinese a series of social, religious and economic changes which have only served the purposes of her commercial and political exploitation and have to-day reduced China to a condition of chaos and anarchy. Great Britain's definitely aggressive policy in the politics of the Far East began with the "Opium War" of 1840 which was fought only because the Chinese Government endeavoured to stop the importation of opium. The war was concluded by the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, whereby China had to cede the island of Hongkong to England and had to open five ports to British trade, known from that time as Treaty Ports. Seeing that China presented "a vast field of lucrative opportunities for British merchants," a second war (1856-1860) was deliberately undertaken for the development and protection of that field, at a time when Englishmen had no reason to anticipate serious rivalry in the reaping of its harvests. The Chinese had to open seven more ports and the river Yangtze and granted the British more territory at Hongkong. But now a formidable rival appeared. Russia during these years had encroached from the North on the Amur region of Manchuria and from the north-west on Chinese Turkestan. Again, in 1883 and 1884 hostilities arose between China and France, resulting in China's losing the suzerainty of Annam and Tonking, which passed to the control of France as a part of her colonial empire. France became the menacing factor on China's southern frontier, as Russia was on the north. Now, England could hardly look with equanimity upon these new developments. Ever since the time of the Crimean war, it had been her consistent and systematic policy to check Russian encroachments or expansion in the Near East as well as in the Far East. The object pursued by Russia in the Far East was, it should be remembered, absolutely opposed to that of England, and concentrated itself on the one issue—the securing of *open Sea*. The vast Empire of the Tsars possessed no Port in Europe where the "keys of the house" were in the hands, so to speak, of other Powers, and England barred her way to the south in the seventies and eighties of the last century in Afganistan and Beluchistan. In the Far East by the middle of the last century Russia contrived to advance at the expense of China as far as Vladivostok; but this port remains closed for two months on account of ice, and Russia, therefore, looked forward to the opportunity of pushing her way further south. She seemed to covet Port Arthur or Talien-Wan, which are free of ice, and are situated at the extremity of the Peninsula of Liaotung, which would provide her access to an open Sea at the back of Korea, and other advantages. Once established at Port Arthur, Russia could think of easily conquering Korea and later on dominating the Pacific. She could also exercise over the Chinese Government even a more irresistible pressure than England could have done. Unquestionably the dreams of Russian aggrandisement had grown very ambitious.

The shadow of Russia, the "Big Bear of the North," just at the strategical northern frontier of China caused the greatest apprehension and anxiety in the minds of British politicians. England, on her part, from 1860 to 1894—the year of the outbreak of the Chino-Japanese War, tried to meet the Russian danger by drawing closer her treaties and agreements with her old ally China and by consolidating still more her position there. When, however, the Chinese forces were annihilated in the autumn of 1894 by the Japanese army the whole world was taken aback with amazement. The battle of the Yalu and the taking of Port Arthur in one morning by the troops of the Mikado opened the eyes of the British Cabinet. What Britain really desired in the Far East was, on the one hand, a political prop, and even a military one, if possible, against the Empire of the Tsar—"a bolt to fasten the door against the ambitions of Russia," and on the other, a wide opening for her commerce and capital. Once convinced that Japan firmly established in Korea and in the northern coast of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, would become a far more efficacious "bolt" than China, England began to favour the Japanese. If China was no longer a useful ally, it might still become a splendid prey, a field of extraordinary economic activities for Great Britain and Japan.

By the Treaty of Shimonoseki 1895, at the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese War, Japan obtained the cession of the island of Formosa and of the Pescadores in the Pacific, and of the peninsula of Liao-tung at the southern end of Manchuria. This latter comprised Port Arthur, China's strongest fortification. But no sooner the treaty was signed, than the Russian Government, backed by France and Germany, forced Japan to return Liao-tung to China. The intervention of what is known in the Far East as the New Triple Alliance resulted in grave and far-reaching consequences. The essential features of the new situation were the substitution in China of Russian influence for that of England, the antagonism which arose between Russia and Japan, and the friendly feeling which now came into existence between Japan and England. Shortly afterwards, in March 1898, on the pretext that Germany had occupied Kiao-Chau which was leased to her for ninety-nine years, Russia compelled China to sign a convention ceding to her the lease of Port Arthur and Taliean-wan (Dairen) for a term of twenty-five years, and the authorisation to construct a branch line, uniting these ports to Trans-Siberian Railway which was already begun. Great Britain got alarmed and in July next she too signed a convention with China, whereby she obtained the lease of Wei-hai-Wei in the province of Shantung "for so long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia." Next to Port Arthur, Wei-hai-Wei was China's most important naval base and land fortress. Thus the antagonism between Russia and Great Britain, both of whom aspired to be the leading Asiatic Power, became bitterer than ever. In the meantime

England's traditional friendship with Germany had weakened under the stress of growing commercial, naval, and colonial rivalry, while the dread of Russia increased and threatened to compromise her relations with Russia's ally, the French Republic, with which she had many outstanding points of dispute. Consequently Great Britain found herself at the beginning of the twentieth century in a position of fearful isolation from all foreign alliances. Moreover, Russian expansion in the East came into conflict with British interests in China and India and Japanese interests in Korea, and might eventually threaten the very self-preservation of Japan. England had always, in fact, been on cordial terms with Japan ever since the Chino-Japanese War. An Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance was, therefore, signed in January 1902 between England and Japan. The Alliance provided that if either Great Britain or Japan, in defence of their respective interests in China and Korea, should become involved in war with another Power, the other High Contracting Party would maintain a strict neutrality and use its efforts to prevent other powers from joining in hostilities against that ally; and that "if in the above event, any other Power or Powers join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance, and will conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it."

The Russo-Japanese war would presumably not have taken place but for this Anglo-Japanese Alliance, concluded in 1902. It was, as we have seen, inspired by fear of Russia, and was framed with a view to preventing the Russian Government, in the event of war with Japan or England, from calling upon the help of France. The Alliance served its purpose admirably for both parties during the Russo-Japanese War. It kept France from joining Russia and thereby enabled Japan to acquire command of the Pacific. It also enabled Japan to weaken Russia, and Japan thus indirectly helped the British by curbing Russian ambition in the Far

East. In the meantime, during the year 1904, what was called an "Entente Cordiale" was gradually established between England and France. But the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had to be renewed in 1905 because there still existed some causes of dissensions between England and Russia. The preamble of the new Anglo-Japanese Alliance stipulated for the following conditions :—

(*a*) the consolidation and maintenance of general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India;

(*b*) the preservation of the common interest of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.

(*c*) the maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India and the defence of their special interests in the said regions.

The Second Alliance Treaty is in several important respects strikingly different from its predecessor. But the most important thing is that the preamble expressly extends the operation of the Alliance from China to the whole of the Far East and India. This change was apparently dictated by the continued fear of Russia. The new Alliance also required either Power "to come at once to the assistance of its ally," in case by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action it should be involved in war in defence of its "territorial rights or special interests in the regions of Eastern Asia and India" as mentioned in the preamble, whereas the old Alliance only required active assistance in the event of its being at war with more than one power. In 1907, however, by the unerring tact and skilful diplomacy of Sir Edward Grey, His Majesty's Foreign Secretary at that time, a good understanding between Britain and Russia was arrived at, and the Anglo-Russian Convention concluded in that year removed all outstanding causes of dispute between the two parties in regard to Persia, Afganistan and Tibet. Without this Entente, the Entente concluded with France in 1904 would have been useless, and the alliance which defeated Germany could not have been created.

In 1911 the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was once more renewed and it was to be valid for ten years from 1911. This time there was absolutely no danger from Russia, but Germany was rising and she threatened to occupy the position formerly occupied by Russia in the Far East. German naval and colonial ambitions in the Pacific came into direct conflict with the interests of Great Britain there, and therefore it was considered to be essential from the view-point of British political and commercial security in the Far East that England should once more refresh her alliance with her old and well-tried friend and ally, Japan. Though denied by partisan and propagandist writers on the British side, we must say that the Anglo-Japanese alliance was of immense help and service to the British Empire during the last great war, in so far as Japan took upon herself the task of patrolling the Pacific and keeping that ocean clear of German ships. Of course, it must be admitted that Japan gained enormously during the war, perhaps far more than her sacrifices might have justified her to expect. But that was no fault of Japan's. Almost all the European powers were bent upon a career of land-grabbing and money-grabbing adventures in the Far East, and Japan was no exception to them. In the first year of the war (November, 1914) Japan captured Tsing-tau in Kiao-chau, and on January 15, 1915, she presented to the Chinese the famous Twenty-one Demands. On May 9, of the same year, China, under the pressure of a Japanese ultimatum, had to accept the demands, although in a slightly modified form. These demands involved a complete loss of Chinese independence, the closing of important areas in China to the commerce and industry of Europe and America, and a special attack upon the British position in the Yangtze. It is not to be doubted that Great Britain was not in sympathy with Japan's acts in 1915. The fact that she did not at that time protest against these acts of aggression on the part of her ally, is simply due to her pre-occupation with the war. On the other hand, Great Britain and her allies Russia and France were compelled to conclude a series of secret agreements with Japan in 1916 and 1917, by which they pledged themselves to "support Japan's claims in regard to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shantung, and possessions in the islands (of the Pacific) north of the Equator, on the occasion of the peace conference." As the Powers were fully occupied with war, they did not hesitate to sell China to Japan for fear of giving offence to Japan. It became necessary even for America, when she had entered the war, to placate Japan, and in November, 1917, the Lansing-Ishii Agreement was concluded, by which "the Government of the United States recognises that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the parts to which her possessions are contiguous." During the peace negotiations at Versailles England and France, in virtue of secret agreements, were compelled to support Japan. President Wilson, as usual, sacrificed everything to his League of Nations. But the Chinese Delegates at Versailles resisted the Japanese claim to Shantung to the last, and finally refused to sign the treaty and withdrew from the Peace Conference.

The American Senate, however, refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and America was therefore free to raise the Chinese question at the Washington Conference, 1921. England now did not require any longer the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1911 for "the maintenance of her territorial rights and the defence of her special interests in the regions of Eastern Asia and India" on account of the recent collapse of Russia and Germany during the last Great War. On the other hand, she felt that instead of Russia and Germany, Japan was threatening to become the most formidable and dangerous power in the Pacific and might one day endanger the security of the British Empire in the East. In fact, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance seemed to have outgrown its necessity and its utility and it is not improbable that England now repented that she had to tolerate Japan's incessant encroachments at the expense of China during the war. So at the Washington Conference England gladly consented to the formation of the Four Power Pact between America, Great Britain, France, and Japan as a result of which the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been brought to an end. In the debate in the United States Senate, at the time of the approval by that body of the Four Power Pact, Senator Lodge said: "The chief and most important point in the treaty is the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. That was the main object of the Treaty." On the Shangtung question also, it appeared that the British were no longer prepared to back up the Japanese as in the old days. On the other hand they joined the Americans in strongly urging Japan to give way. Thus in the Far East, from this time, at any rate, England seems to have decided to seek the friendship of America rather than of Japan. Simultaneously there has come into existence at the Washington Conference another grouping of France and Japan against that of America and Great Britain. In any case, it is to be expected from this time that France and Japan will stand together, now that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has come to an end and the Anglo-French Entente has become anything but cordial.

The most important element in the present political situation in the Far East and in the Pacific is, therefore, the prevailing antagonism of interests between America and Great Britain on one side and France and Japan on the other. China so long did not count as a serious or formidable factor in international politics; but incessant irritation by the West has at last awakened China from her sleep between two and three thousand years. She has now realised the causes of her own impotence and helplessness before the nations of the

West and owing to the rise of a new generation of earnest and selfless patriots she is adopting Western methods to meet the situation created by the West. Probably the last thing that any of the Powers ever intended to do in China was to create a spirit of Chinese Nationalism. Yet that has been the result of their action. Nationalism is daily advancing and "China for the Chinese" is a very real and frequent cry as has been evidenced at Versailles, at Washington, in the demand for the retrocession of Port Arthur, and in the boycott of Japan, which has followed refusal. England has discovered a grave future danger in this awakening of China and she perhaps thinks that this new "Yellow Peril" may in time submerge the whole of Eastern Asia. It is in these circumstances, we think, that the late Conservative Government decided to construct a strong and first-class naval base at Singapore to ensure "the mobile efficiency of the British Fleet in the Pacific and the safety of the British Empire in the East." That this naval scheme is regarded with disfavour and apprehension in Japan is quite evident from the statement made by the Japanese Foreign Minister Baron Mitsui in an interview at Tokio. He declared: "In Japan we are glad that the British Government has decided not to create a great naval base at Singapore............Its construction would needlessly cause among us some feelings of regret and disappointment." The attitude of America towards Japan, if there were already any doubt, has become quite clear, in the light of the recent Immigration Bill passed by the U.S. Congress which proposes to exclude altogether immigration from Japan to America. France on the other hand is endeavouring to draw her bonds of friendship with Japan closer and closer, for we learn very recently from a Reuter message (Tokio, May 1) that M. Merlin, Governor-General of Indo-China has gone to Tokio "with plans for laying the foundations of a new Franco-Japanese economic entente in the Far East." At the same time, M. Herriot, the present Premier of France, has, declared in a signed article which he has contributed to *L' Information*, that the "United States have taken a grave decision" by the passing of the Johnson Immigration Bill which needlessly invites the danger of stopping Japan's safety valve, namely, immigration. So there can be no doubt that the feelings and relations between the two groups, America and England on one side, and France and Japan on the other, are anything but amicable and satisfactory. When we look upon the proposal of establishing a strong naval base at Singapore in the light of these developments in the politics of the Far East, we cannot but challenge the assertion of the Right Hon'ble Winston Churchill that the construction of a naval base at Singapore does not "suggest suspicion of, or ill-will towards, a well-tried and sagacious ally," Japan. Further, what we suspect most is that Singapore has also been considered to be a great strategical position against the contiguous French possessions and interests in Cambodia, Cochin-China, Annam, and Tongking. In fact, we must endorse the views of those Liberal and Labour members of the House of Commons who have condemned the scheme on the ground that the creation of a naval base at Singapore contemplated the possibility of a war with Japan, and that the scheme would be an infringement of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Washington Naval Treaty.

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI

Reviews

Hatim's Tales: Kashmiri Stories and Songs, recorded, with the assistance of Pandit Govinda Kaula, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., and edited with a Translation, Linguistic Analysis, Vocabulary, Indexes, etc., by Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., with a Note on the Folklore of the Tales by W. Crooke, C.I.E.: Indian Texts Series: London, John Murray, 1923. Price 30 shillings.

The short title 'Hatim's Tales,' would arouse in persons familiar with Arabic, Persian and Indian (Hindustani) literatures associations quite different from those which one would connect with philology and linguistic studies. Hatim at-Ta'i, or Hatim of the Tayy tribe, was an Arab chief of pre-Moslem days whose generosity has passed into a proverb with Mohammedan peoples, and Hatim has become the hero of a number of extravagant legendary tales in Arabic and Persian, and people in Northern India have heard his name if they have not all read his exploits. But the present book, although it does not take us within the rich and intricate arabesques of Saracenic romance, affords us a treat in another direction. Hatim Tilwɔñu, or Hatim the Oilman, was a far humbler person. He was a Kashmiri peasant dwelling in the little hamlet of Panzil in Sindh Valley in Kashmir, and was a reputed teller of tales among his people, and in 1896 he recited a number of stories and songs in his Kashmiri *patois* before Sir Aurel Stein and Pandit Govinda Kaula simultaneously. Sir Aurel took down the tales phonetically in the Roman character as he heard them, and Pandit Kaula wrote them down in what may be called an Old Kashmiri orthography modified and resuscitated in Devanagari characters. These presented, both in the phonetic transcription of Sir Aurel and in the scholastic recension of Pandit Govinda Kaula, a certain mass of invaluable material for the study of Kashmiri. Sir Aurel placed the material at the disposal of Sir George Grierson, in 1910. Later, in 1912, when Sir Aurel was in Kashmir once more, he through Sir George's request revised the texts with Hatim. The result was, says Sir George in his Introduction, a remarkable proof of the accuracy of Hatim's memory. Hatim had delivered the stories as he had received them from his master (*ustād*). After sixteen years, the text that he recited in 1912 was the same as that which had been copied down in 1896.

The texts as published do not form a very large mass—they are only 12 in number, of less than three pages each on an average. But the material that has been gleaned by Sir Aurel has been arranged and set forth for the student of language in a style that cannot easily be rivalled. Sir George Grierson is our great *Guru* in the field of modern Indian linguistics: he embodies in him the advance made in the science during the last half a century. He has given us through his monumental *Linguistic Survey of India* the first correct linguistic map of India: out of the chaos of hundreds of little dialects and forms of local *patois*, he has evolved order, and thanks to him, we can now talk of Modern Indo-Aryan Languages with a certain amount of definiteness. In the whole field of linguistics in India, it may be said of him with greater force than of any other scholar, that there is no branch of it which he did not touch and nothing he did touch which he did not adorn. And perhaps in few other sides of Indian Philology have his researches been so fruitful as in Kashmiri. He is one of the pioneers in the study of the language, and its history. The present work is only in continuation of his previous publications on Kashmiri, beginning with his translation and emendation of Karl Friedrich Burkhard's papers in German on Kashmiri (as in the Indian Antiquary of 1895 ff.), through his original work as published in the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society in Bengal (1897 ff.) and his 'Piśāca Languages' (1906) down to his excellent Manual of Kashmiri (1911), his volume on the Dardic Languages in the *Linguistic Survey* (1919) and his edition of the poems of Lalla, the 14th century mystic poetess of Kashmir (1920). In 1915 in the pages of the Indian Antiquary he had established the linguistic affinities of Kashmiri, proving that Kashmiri is not an immediate relation of the Aryan languages of India, that it is not connected with Sanskrit in the same way that Hindi, Panjabi, Marathi and Bengali are, but that the Indian languages with Sanskrit) form one group, or branch, of the old Aryan speech, and Kashmiri (with Chitrali, Shina, and other speeches of the extreme North-west of India forms another branch, while the Iranian speeches formed a third branch.

In the arrangement of the texts in the present edition, Sir George has left nothing to be desired: he has set before us the feast all prepared. Sir Aurel's transcription is first given with a continuous translation on the opposite page. Pandit Govinda Kaula's version then follows, with an interlinear English rendering. This latter would be a boon for the beginner in Kashmiri studies. The text is very conveniently printed in thick type. There is an exhaustive vocabulary, an index to Sir Aurel's text with Kaula's forms within brackets, and another index of words in Govinda Kaula's text arranged in the order of final letters showing the corresponding words in Sir Aurel Stein's text. This is a veritable *embarras de richesse* for the philological student who wants to put a text under requisition. The Introduction gives a clear *exposé* of the phonetics and phonology of Kashmiri from Sir George Grierson himself, and the claims of Folklore have not been forgotten, for there is an interesting article on this aspect of the stories from no less an authority on Indian ethnology than Mr. W. Crooke himself.

The appeal of this handsomely got-up work is primarily to the student of language, but the stories in Sir Aurel's translation, and with Mr. Crooke's Introduction, should have some interest for those who feel attracted to this branch of literature. And Sir Aurel's sympathetic tribute to the memory of Pandit Govinda Kaula, his friend and fellow-worker, who was one of the greatest pandits of the old school, and endeared himself to all who came in contact with him both by his erudition and by his character, will be appreciated by all, and specially by us Indians.

S. K. C.

Modern Indian Artists: Volume Two: Asit Kumar Haldar, by Dr. James H. Cousins, with annotations on the plates by Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly. With 5 colour plates and 20 photogravures. Printed at the Clive Press, Calcutta, and sold by the Manager, 'Rupam,' 7 Old Post Office Street, Calcutta, etc., Price Rupees Sixteen. Edition limited to 225 copies only.

The first volume in this series, that on Kshitindranath Mazumdar, was reviewed in this journal for March, 1924, and the welcome that we accorded it then we cordially extend to the present one. The general get-up of the second volume is even better than that of the first one, its bigger size, and the superior European handmade paper on which the letter-press has been printed to some extent contribute to the greater elegance of its *format*: but one misses the Indian *tulot* paper of the first volume. The esthetic sense displayed in these volumes cannot be too highly praised, as well as the patriotic enterprise which has prompted Mr. Gangoly to undertake this series both to help the appreciation of the art of his country abroad and to educate his countrymen in the living art of their land, about which the generality of Indians still remain apathetic.

In his Foreward, Mr. Gangoly offers an explanation why he began his series of monopraphs on 'Modern Indian Artists' with the younger members of the group rather than with the great masters Abanindranath and Nandalal. When a movement is vital, says Mr. Gangoly, its leading exponents use the same tongue as its youngest representative: and the relation of the lesser masters to the great master is one of a degree of experience or a maturity of expression, not in the quality of thought. It is the touch of life in an artist that raises him above mediocrity: and undoubtedly the 'lesser masters,' who are either pupils or *in statu pupillari* of the great inaugurators, possess this divine gift which raises their work and gives it a permanent value.

Dr. Cousin's essay on Mr. Haldar gives us some idea as to the way in which the art of the Modern Indian School has had its esthetic and spiritual appeal for this Irish poet and thinker. Dr. Cousins is an active worker in the Irish Renaissance, in which the spiritual character of the old Celtic culture of Erin is sought to be revived and preserved; and he has been living among us, and has understood the true meaning of our culture as few foreigners have done, and he has seen a great deal of other Asiatic countries on which Indian civilisation and thought have partially been grafted. He knows intimately the literary and artistic revival that is now manifest all over India from the Panjab to Andhra and Ceylon. Dr. Cousins regards Modern Indian painting as something undetached from both the Ancient Indian pictorial tradition as in the frescoes of Ajanta and in Rajput and Mughal painting and from the great pan-Asiatic art of Buddhistic impulse. In this of course he is quite right. He brings in a contrast between the fundamental concepts of Western or European and Oriental or Asiatic Art. 'Deeper than subject and method in art is the controlling central direction of a people's philosophy of life. The emotional quality, the mental significance, the very turn of the wrist of non-Asian art, are coloured, furnished and guided by the concept of a single earth life, beginning at birth and passing through death to a state of eternal fixity in bliss or misery.' In Asian, specially Indian art also, says Dr. Cousins, 'there is the concept of a single life—not a single personal life on earth, but One Life elaborating itself through the wonderful multiplicity and variety of form in nature and humanity, and smiling with a joy that is reflected in the soul of the artist when he apprehends and registers some juxtaposition of apparently discrete elements in the detail of life and so comes upon the secret of her unity.' Some might be inclined to join issue with him in this rather categorical statement. For whatever might have been the views of the poets and the theologians, the profundity of Archaic Greek art, and of Medieval Christian art of Western Europe is a thing that arrests us, and despite the literary or hieratic expression which in the main is preserved for us, the mysticism of Greece of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. or of 13th century Italy was something which had transmuted the life of the people and endowed it with a spiritual glory that transcended the sensuousness and superficiality of the myths and the narrowness of theology, and approached the spiritual level of the highest Indian thought, the spiritual tone that we find in common Indian life and in traditional Indian art. It is possible that pre-classical Greece and pre-Renaissance Europe were indebted to eastern impulses towards any profoundness of view; but the fact remains that art of exquisite spiritual quality grew up there also. And although we agree with Dr. Cousins that the general life of India essentially is telescopic, in which the past and the distant acquire a strange nearness and immanence, we would question the statement (as well as the chronology) when he says that 'the "vimâna" of Rama crossed the skies between India and Ceylon (if not in actual physical fact at least in real anticipation) centuries before the Greek Daedalus set wings on the shoulders of his son, or Leonardi da Vinci nearly killed his servant in trying to do the same,' or that 'the discoveries of Jagadishchandra Bose are but annotations to the Upanishads.'

Dr. Cousin's appreciative study of the works of Haldar and of his fellow artists is an illuminating one. We agree with him that the beautiful figure of the 'Dancing Apsaras' is independent of Ajanta influences. His appreciation of the 'Rāsālīlā' certainly enables us to find some newer beauties in this exquisite creation of Asit Kumar's, as also do Mr. Gângoly's Annotations on the plates illustrating the two versions of this picture. Mr. Gangoly is always a helpful guide even if at times he is rather too minute; but we feel grateful to him at every step for making it possible for us to have such a storehouse of esthetic enjoyment in the work of an artist of genius, and for his being ever ready to act as cicerone in understanding the pictures. We only wish that he had given a little more attention in the transliteration of the Sanskrit and Bengali names and quotations; in this matter, trifling though it is, as well as in the avoidance of some orthographical inadvertences, the letter-press of the work might have been made perfect.

To come to the most important part of the book, the pictures. They have been beautifully reproduced. One would wish that the plate 'Dancing Apsaras' (opposite page 2) and the sketch of 'the Girl with the Vīṇā' (Plate

XIX) were in photogravure rather than in half-tone. As we have expressed before, the vitality of an artistic movement is shown by the lesser workers in its developing their individuality, and not by merging into a type. Asit Kumar Haldar has the spirit which moves all the artists of the new school, and yet he remains himself. The conventions which Kshitindra Mazumdar has created for himself are his only, and they are not to be found in Haldar. But Haldar seems to be more frequently under the spell of the ancient art of India than Mazumdar: witness, for instance, his 'Heaven' (Plate VII) and 'Rāma meeting Guhaka' (Plate XIII), where the inspiration is distinctly that of Ajanta: and little touches in many other paintings show reminiscences either of Ajanta or of Kangra. In possibly the most profound painting of the whole set, the Rāsa-līlā in its two versions, especially the second version (details from which fortunately have been given to enable us to form a clearer idea of the extraordinary spirituality in gaze of the Gōpī who feels thrilled at the touch of the divine person of Krishna with her finger tips), we have in the figures of the Gōpīs a most praiseworthy attempt at resuscitation of some of the poses of ancient Indian art. The figure of the Gōpī with the uplifted hands to the left of the one who is touching Krishna's person, for example, recalls the passionate abandon of religious ecstasy in the female worshippers with a similar pose in some Amaravati bas-reliefs (cf. Plate 23 in Dr. Coomaraswamy's Visvakarma, or Plate 16 in William Cohn's Indische Plastic). This resemblance might be only fortuitous: in that case we have here a most wonderful approximation of the modern spirit to the ancient one: or is it only a modern application, perfectly justifiable, of an ancient heritage in the matter of the pose. Mr. Haldar is very successful in his *genre* sketches, they are suffused with a deep quality, a pathos, which is specially his own. Witness for example 'the Girl with the Vīṇā' (Plate XIX) and the 'Studies from Village Life' (Plates XXI, XXII). There is an obvious Japanese inspiration in 'the Lotuses' (Plate XII), and 'the Waterfall' (Plate XXVI) is an Indian version of a popular Chinese theme. Somehow, the sculptured balustrade at the edge of the precipice leaning on which the poet is gazing at the waterfall opposite, jars on our senses in the whole composition. 'The Negro Princess' (coloured plate No. XXIV), is a charming picture, fresh, *naïve*, with its note of isolation of an Indian noon.

The contemplation of these pictures, in such good reproductions, is a great pleasure, and the art-loving public has been placed under a deep obligation by Mr. Gangoly. We wish for ourselves a speedy publication of the other volumes in this beautiful series, and also for their greater appreciation among our own countrymen.

S. K. C.

An English Phonetic Reader by Lilias E. Armstrong, B. A., Lecturer in Phonetics, University College, London : University of London Press, Ltd. Price 4 shillings nett.

Students of Phonetics will welcome this addition to the well known *London Phontic Readers* published under the supervision of Professer Daniel Jones. The volumes already included in this series are on French, German, Italian, Cantonese, Panjabi and Sechuana, and there are others in print or under preparation. Miss Armstrong's book gives some 17 well-chosen passages in prose in the 'narrow' transcription, *i. e.*, in a transcription which seeks to indicate most of the nicer details of pronunciation. The transcriptions present a happy mean between ' the extreme rapid colloquial style and that suitable for reading and speaking.' As the work is one for advanced students, the texts in current spelling are not given. Miss Armstrong explains in the preface her employment of particular vowels in the transcription of some of the forms, and she has sought to represent her own pronunciation, which is typical educated Southern English. The transcriptions have been printed in thick type, which unlike phonetic script in ordinary type, does not tax the eyes. The so-called long neutral vowel, as in bird [b ɜ : d] has been represented by its new symbol [ɜ] and not by the more common [ə:] or [ɐ:]. Being a narrow transcription, distinction between the vowels in *pit* [pɪt] and *peet* [pi·t], *put* [pʊt] and *hoot* [hu:t] etc. has been shown. Stress has generally been indicated, and occasionally length. The affricates of English, [tʃ, dʒ, tr, dr, tθ, dθ, ts, dz], are represented by ligatured letters. The book is beautifully done, and is such as can be expected from a phonetician and a teacher of Miss Armstrong's knowledge and experience of the science and art, and it should be used by students of English phonetics familiar with the I. P. A. script.

S. K. C.

The Dialect of Robert Burns as spoken in Central Ayrshire by Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., M.A., (Edin.), author of 'Lowland Scotch as spoken in the Lower Strathearn District of Perthshire'. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1923.

This is a careful survey of one of the forms of Scottish English, and that being partly the dialect employed by the national poet of Scotland—*Sassenach* Scotland of course—who holds a place in the front rank of English literature, and is appreciated outside Scotland and England and English-speaking lands, even through the tedious process of turning over the glossary. The work will be of great interest wherever English language and liteature are seriously studied. To catch the subtle music of the wonderful lyrics of Burns (as of any other poet) one must have some idea of his pronunciation: and this is where the book has amply justified its existence for the lover of Burns. There is a section on Pronunciation, with a note on the orthography adopted in recording the sounds of Scots English, and on Burns's own orthography (pp. 11-44), followed by a grammar (pp. 45-80), a comparison with the dialect of Perthshire (pp. 81-86), a list of Ayrshire Christian names, surnames and place-names, proverbs and sayings and idiomatic expressions written out phonetically, and an anthology of Burns's poems in the ordinary text, in Ayrshire Scots in transcription, and with literal English rendering (pp. 87-148), and there is glossary of Ayrshire words in the end (pp. 149-195).

The book will be read with profit by students of English philology and English phonetics. An interesting half-hour can be spent in reading old favourites from Burns as their author himself would probably have read them, making allowances both for the differences that are bound to have crept in the speech of Ayrshire itself since hundred years ago when Burns lived, and the approximations which a foreigner not to the manner born must be content with in reading a foreign tongue, and especially in its old form.

The orthography adopted in transcribing the sounds of Scotch, however, would call for a remark. The author as is evident had the general reader in mind more than the scientific student of language, and hence he has followed in the main the ordinary English values of the letters. The explanations he gives are enough for the ordinary reader, but surely no student of phonetics or language would be pleased with **ii** for the sound of [ai] as in English *eye*, or **ow** for that of [au] in *house*. It is however a relief for the professional language student to find that equivalents in the International Phonetic Script and in other systems of Sir James's English-Roman spelling have been given: so that those who are so minded (and the present reviewer confesses that partly he is of that ilk himself) can patiently transcribe Sir James's—

Shid awl acqwantuns bee furgoat,
  Un nivvur broakht tay mein?
Shid awl acqwantuns bee furgoat,
  Un awl lang sein?

into [ʃɪd ɔ̀:l əkwantəns bi: fʌrgot, ən nivər broxt te: məin?
ʃɪd ɔ̀:l əkwantəns bi: fʌrgot, ən ɔ̀:l laŋ səin?]

and revel in it.

S. K. C.